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THE PRINCES OF ACHAIA

THE PRINCES OF ACHAIA

AND

THE CHRONICLES OF MOREA

A STUDY OF GREECE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

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BY

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WITH A MAP

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THE PRINCES OF ACHAIA

CHAPTER VIII

FLORENCE OF HAINAULT AND ISABELLA VILLEHARDOUIN

TOWARDS the end of the year 1287 there appeared at the court of Naples a cadet of the great Flemish house of Avesnes, which was already well known in Romania as having lent one of its strongest arms to the conquering host of Bonifazio of Montferrat. Florent d'Avesnes or, as he is more generally called, Florence of Hainault, lord of Braine-le-Comte and Hall, the last of five brothers of the reigning Count of Hainault, was tempted by the glamour of the east which had offered a fortune and even sometimes a throne to many of the younger sons of the west. Naples, where the war between Anjou and Aragon still afforded opportunities for military distinction, appeared to be the stepping-stone to that land of promise. Before starting in quest of adventure he set his affairs in order, founded a chapel to be maintained in perpetuity in his house at Estruen, and signed a deed acknowledging that he had received from his brother the fiefs of Braine and Hall, which were to revert to the county of Hainault in the event of his dying without heirs.[1]

[1] Archives of Mons. Buchon, *R. H.*, i. 290 (note) and St. Genois.

His military services in southern Italy were rewarded by Charles II., who was liberated the year after his arrival, with the empty title of constable of Sicily, but his prospects and ambitions were unexpectedly advanced, according to the chronicle, by a friendship which he contracted at the Neapolitan court with the Moreote barons Geoffrey of Calavryta and Chaudron the constable, who had come to greet their liege lord on his return from Spain, as old and trusted friends of his father. It was through their influence that the King was induced to make arrangements for the marriage of Florence to Isabella Villehardouin, who, since she had been left a child widow in 1177, had continued to reside in Naples. The Moreote nobles were all jealous of one another, but still more intolerant of alien masters appointed from Italy. A restoration of the principality to the heiress of the house of Villehardouin, to which all acknowledged a traditional loyalty, appeared to them to offer the best prospect of reuniting the great feudatories in a common cause against the Greeks. Florence on his side had undertaken to be guided by their counsels, and to devote himself, if he succeeded in securing the principality with the hand of Isabella, to the good of the land and the reform of those abuses which had prevailed under the administration of the Neapolitan vicars.[1] Charles II. was not prepared to undo altogether his father's work and replace Isabella in uncontrolled possession of the inheritance which her grandfather had acquired. He nevertheless consented to the proposed marriage of his sister-in-law, and on the 16th of September 1289, which was probably their wedding

[1] A long discourse to this effect is placed in the mouth of Florence by the Greek chronicle; the French version omits it. The Chaudron here referred to must, if the Aragonese chronicle is correct, be the son of the first constable.

day, he formally transferred to Florence and Isabella conjointly the principality of Achaia, which had in 1278 reverted to the house of Anjou. He bestowed on Isabella personally the portion of the baronies of Carytena and Bucelet which was not actually held by Hugues de Brienne, as the widower of Isabella de la Roche, and which had fallen into the domain of the Prince on the death of Geoffroi de Bruyères. While he instructed the barons of Morea to receive Florence and Isabella as their lawful rulers, he attached a condition to the cession which reserved to Naples the right of intervention in certain eventualities. Should Florence die before Isabella, the Princess was to continue in possession, but only provided she did not contract another marriage without the King's consent, a step which would entail the immediate reversion of the principality to Naples. A similar condition was imposed on her daughter or grand-daughter should male issue fail. About the same time Corfu was ceded to Florence, but he renounced it in the following year in favour of Hugues de Sully, who had returned from a long detention as a prisoner in Constantinople.

After the wedding festivities the new Prince and Princess of Achaia took ship at Brindisi and sailed to the Morea, with a hundred knights and three hundred bowmen in their train. They touched at Coron to visit the Venetian administrator and then sailed northwards to Clarenza. There they were met by the bailie,[1] who came from Andravida to welcome them, and the barons, nobles, and prelates were summoned to the minster church of St. Francis, to hear the

[1] It would seem to have been Guy de Charpigny and not, as the chronicle avers, Nicholas de St. Omer, who was vicar at the time of their landing.

reading of the King's letter,[1] announcing that he had bestowed the principality on Florence and Isabella conjointly, and ordering all men to do homage to the Prince as their liege lord. It was, however, not till the following year, in a rescript dated the 21st July 1290, that Charles II. made public and formal renunciation of the principality in favour of Florence, reserving only the overlordship for himself. Bartolommeo Ghisi of Tinos was deputed in May of that year to receive from the Prince the oath of allegiance on behalf of his sovereign, and he at the same time himself performed the act of homage for the islands which he held as liegeman of Achaia.

Guided by the counsels of Chaudron and Tournay, Florence at once took energetic measures to reform the evils from which the country had suffered during its vicarious administration from Naples. He imported from Apulia the grain which the Morea no longer provided in sufficient quantities for its needs. He visited the neglected fortresses, and investigated complaints as to the exactions of unscrupulous officers. The offenders were replaced by trustworthy agents, selected from his own immediate following. Ruggiero di Benevento, who had been in charge of the finances and had grossly abused his position, was flung into prison, whence he was only released after a portion of his defalcations had been refunded, some eight months later, in obedience to the commands of King Charles. A brief survey of his dominions convinced Florence that the first need of the Morea was internal

[1] The French text says, "Si devisérent la teneur en vulgar pour que cescun l'entendit" (p. 297). Buchon takes this to mean that the letters were translated into "grecque vulgaire et en langue française." Hopf disputes this interpretation, but *en vulgar* must surely here mean Greek, up to this period the language of Franks as well as of natives in the Morea.

peace, and this could only be secured by an understanding with the Greek strategus at Mistra. An armistice was arranged, but the governor could only negotiate for the brief term of his own office and the question was therefore referred to Constantinople. Andronicus, preoccupied by the continued advance of the Seljuks in Asia Minor and the aggressions of the Bulgarians in Europe, welcomed such a proposal and despatched Philanthropinus to Andravida, where terms were arranged without difficulty. Chaudron and Geoffroi d'Aunoy were sent to Constantinople to obtain the Emperor's ratification.[1] The conditions of peace, which was preserved for seven years, until shortly before the death of Florence, included a familiar stipulation. The cessation of hostilities was to cover Achaia only. Florence remained free to contract alliances with the enemies of the empire, and to support them with arms in other quarters, without prejudice to the peace in Morea. An analogous condition was included in the treaty of peace signed by Andronicus with Venice in 1285, by which the Emperor recognised the right of the republic to support the barons of Eubœa against him without her armed intervention being regarded as entailing a *casus belli*.[2]

It was not long before Florence elected to make use of the liberty of action thus reserved to him, and he supported his wife's uncle, the Despot at Arta, in a renewal of hostilities between the empire and the Angeli, which followed the failure of negotiations for a dynastic marriage. The masterful and ambitious Anna

[1] The Greek chronicle specifies their names, the French text only mentions "deux gentils homes."

[2] See vol. i. p. 272.

Cantacuzena, the wife of Nicephorus Angelus of Epirus, had aspired to bring about an alliance between her favourite daughter Ithamar and Michael Palæologus, the eldest son of the Emperor. As the niece of the restorer of the Greek empire, her sympathies had firmer root in Byzantium than in Arta, and she had undertaken to secure, after the death of her weak and insignificant husband,[1] the reversion to the empire, not only of Ithamar's dowry, but of all the inheritance of the Angeli in Thessaly as well as Epirus, to the detriment of Thomas, the infant son of Nicephorus, and of his cousin the heir of Johannes Dukas of Neo-Patras, who was now through Anna's treachery a prisoner in Constantinople, where he died in 1295. The Emperor Andronicus had, however, formed a very different project for his son. The grand-daughter of the second Baldwin and of Charles of Anjou, Catherine de Courtenay, as heiress of the Frankish claim to the throne of the east, maintained the titular dignity of Empress at the court of Naples, supporting a semblance of state on the bounty of Charles II., who appreciated the importance of controlling so important a piece on the political chess-board. An union between the young Michael Palæologus and the titular Empress would reunite the Frankish and the Greek pretensions. Negotiations were accordingly initiated with this object. An embassy despatched in 1290 to Naples met with a favourable reception, and in the following year Charles sent a mission to submit his conditions to the Emperor. But the negotiations, which dragged on for several years, did not lead to any practical result, beyond that of shattering the

[1] Pachymer in his Life of Andronicus II. assumes that Nicephorus was already dead, but he seems to have lived till 1296.

ambitious dream of Anna Cantacuzena. The definite rejection of the hand of Ithamar was a slight which she could not forgive, and Epirus took up arms to avenge it.

If the veteran Johannes of Great Vlachia found himself at the same time in open hostilities with the Emperor, it was not from any love which he bore his kinsfolk at Arta. Some years earlier when his son Michael Dukas was preparing to attack Thessalonica, and the Byzantine army, after losing its able leader Michael Tarchaniota, was retiring before him, the Emperor had made unscrupulous use of the family jealousies and the passion for intrigue which had always characterised the house of Angelus. He had enlisted the assistance of Anna Cantacuzena, who invited Michael Dukas to Arta, ostensibly to discuss a project for his marriage to Princess Ithamar, and on his arrival she caused him to be treacherously made a prisoner, and handed over to Andronicus. By this bold stroke the heir of Thessaly was removed from the scene of action, and a first step was gained in the ambitious scheme which the Despina had devised for the restoration of the province to the empire. The alliance with Naples secured Epirus from any reprisals on the part of Johannes, who sought reparation by aggressions on the imperial frontier. Meanwhile Epirus had in turn again fallen out with Andronicus, who, accepting the challenge, prepared to attack both branches of the Angeli simultaneously. A host of Germans, Cumanians, and Turks invaded Thessaly, and Johannes, powerless without a Frankish contingent to fight for him, was compelled for a time to abandon his province. The imperial mercenaries marched through Vlachia into Epirus, while thirty vessels chartered from the Genoese

by Andronicus, now wholly dependent on foreign troops; threatened Arta from the sea.

Nicephorus appealed to the Franks for support. Count Richard of Cephalonia, who now for the first time begins to play an important part in the affairs of Romania, offered a hundred horsemen, and Florence, who was promised the investiture of certain fiefs in the despotate, after he had obtained the approval of his barons in parliament at Andravida, took the field with four hundred more. Previous experiences in the wars of Epirus, however, had not been forgotten, and Isabella would hardly have failed to remind her husband of the fate which befell her father owing to the desertion of his allies at the battle of Pelagonia. Hostages were therefore demanded from the Despot, who sent his infant son Thomas to Achaia, where he was lodged in the castle of Clairmont, and his daughter Maria to the court of the Count of Cephalonia. The Moreote horse, under the supreme command of the prince, were, according to the chronicle, led by Nicholas III. de St. Omer, who in 1290 succeeded his father Jean as hereditary marshal; a very youthful noble, endowed with every grace and virtue of chivalry, who was destined to become the wealthiest and most influential of all the barons, having already entered into possession of his mother's inheritance at Passava and Akova, while he was also the ultimate heir to the great domains of his uncle Nicholas, baron in Thebes, together with the ample portion which Anna Comnena, Villehardouin's widow, had brought her second husband. He cannot, however, at this period have been more than fifteen years of age, and while he may well have accompanied the expedition in virtue of the office which he had inherited, it seems somewhat premature

on the part of the chronicler to assert that his thoughts were already occupied by his consuming passion for the fair Guglielma, Count Richard's daughter, who was married to Jean Chaudron, the constable.

The Frankish cavalry still maintained their high reputation, and on their appearance in the field the imperial mercenaries refused battle, and withdrew beyond the borders of Epirus. Meanwhile landing-parties from the Genoese fleet had disembarked near Preveza and were threatening Arta. The combined Epirote and Moreote force which had advanced against the invaders from the east hastened back to the capital, and the Genoese, perceiving that they had been abandoned by the land army with which they were to co-operate, retreated in haste to their ships after setting fire to some villages in the neighbourhood of Arta. Nothing more was attempted by the ships than a hasty raid on Vonitza and Sta. Maura before they made sail for Constantinople.

After this tame conclusion to the campaign, Florence lost no time in restoring his child hostage to his parents. Count Richard on the other hand, instead of liberating Maria Angela, despatched two Franciscan monks[1] to announce to Nicephorus that his son and heir had fallen in love with the Epirote princess, and that he had had no choice but to marry them forthwith. The Despot's indignation was not easily appeased, for his own two sisters had been brides of reigning princes, and the haughty Anna Cantacuzena regarded the union of their eldest daughter to the son

[1] The chronicle points out that he selected two monks who, having been brought up at Galata, spoke Greek well. Although the Frankish barons mostly adopted the Greek language in the second generation, the Cephalonian counts, who were of Italian origin, had remained more in touch with Italy than Greece.

of a vassal as a grave misalliance. Nor was his anger diminished by the form of the message in which Count Richard announced that he could not find any other bride as suitable for his son in all Romania. But having no fleet, and being therefore unable to coerce the truculent lord of the Ionian isles, he was forced to accept the conditions proposed by the Count, which included the cession by John of Cephalonia of half of his future inheritance as a marriage portion to Maria of Epirus. The document is preserved in which John, Count Palatine of Cephalonia and Zante, after the assassination of his father, confirmed this cession to his wife on the 7th of April 1304, in the presence of Isabella Villehardouin and her third husband, Philip of Savoy, at Clarenza.[1] A reconciliation being thus effected, the young couple repaired to Arta, where Nicephorus received them graciously, and ended by becoming extremely attached to his grandson, who subsequently fell out with his own father, and disapproving of his second marriage with Marguerite Villehardouin, continued to reside in Epirus until he succeeded in 1304.

The reappearance of the Byzantine fleet in the southern Adriatic, the seizure of Durazzo and the contraction of the territories which he claimed as the reversionary of Manfred by the disaffection of the Albanians, drew Charles II. into conflict with the Emperor, and convinced him of the necessity for cultivating closer relations with the court of Arta. This strange association between the son of the butcher of Benevento and the brother of Manfred's unhappy widow was destined to have an important influence on the future of the Frankish east. Through Florence

[1] Buchon, *R. H.*, ii. p. 482.

of Hainault, now a welcome guest at Arta, a proposal was made in June 1291 for the marriage of Ithamar, the innocent subject of more than one illusive negotiation, to a son of Charles II., who was ready to guarantee that the Greek Princess should in Naples be allowed to retain the customs of her country and the practice of her own religion. Florence and Pierre de Lille, as the King's ambassadors, had full powers to arrange all conditions. But it was not till the following year that a return mission from Nicephorus submitted his proposals to Charles, whose second son, Philip, was destined to be the future husband of Ithamar. The Despot proposed to make his daughter universal heiress, not only of the dominions over which he actually reigned, but also of the regions which the imperial forces had occupied, disregarding the rights of his son Thomas, who was only four years old, and who manifested symptoms of mental and physical weakness. Philip was to receive with his wife immediate possession of Lepanto, Volochos, Angelokastron, and Vonditza. Nicephorus, or his wife if she survived him, was to remain in possession of the rest of Epirus for life, and provision was to be made for their son Thomas by the bequest of a fortress which he would hold as the vassal of his brother-in-law. It was, however, specially laid down that it should not be Jannina or Arta, or any one of the dower fortresses already handed over. Of lands reconquered from the empire two-thirds would accrue to Philip and one-third to the Despot for his life. The fiefs given to Florence and Isabella were to be confirmed to them. Philip on the other hand was pledged to guarantee the maintenance of the Greek church in Epirus, and to respect the religious liberty

of his wife. In order to provide a portion for Ithamar in the event of Philip's premature death, Charles proposed to bestow on his son the principality of Tarentum and the island of Corfu. Negotiations of so complicated a character proved no easy task to carry through, and repeated missions from either side went to and fro. The disinheritance of Thomas was inconsistent with western ideas, and Charles II. affected to have scruples in accepting the proposal. The Despot on his side cavilled at the scanty provision made for the Princess in case she should be left a widow. Thus three years passed before any contract could be concluded. Then Charles played a trump card. By the treaty of Viterbo the Emperor Baldwin had not only transferred to Naples the overlordship of Achaia and the islands, but had undertaken that in the event of a failure of heirs to his house, the reversion of the empire should pass to the reigning family of Anjou. Charles now forced his niece, the titular Empress Catherine de Courtenay, to confirm the treaty of Viterbo and to undertake not to contract a marriage without the consent of the crown of Naples. He then conferred the rights thus secured to him on his favourite son Philip, who had already been invested with Tarentum, and at the same time bestowed on him Corfu and Buthroton (Butrinto) in return for an annual payment of six velvet robes. By this transaction Philip of Tarentum became in the year 1294 the overlord of all the Frankish possessions in the east.[1] Charles however retained, as ultimate sovereign, power of disposal over Achaia, and in 1301 transferred the principality itself to Philip, though the

[1] For the terms of this transfer of overlordship see Appendix I. note 14.

transfer was not publicly notified until some years later.

Such scruples as Charles may have entertained with regard to the position of Thomas were overcome by an undertaking given by Philip to recognise him after the death of Nicephorus as Despot in Epirus, in return for the cession of Vagenetia and St. Donato, and a promise that his own claim to the reversion should not be raised until the male line became extinct, either in Thomas himself or his descendants. Philip of Tarentum had now become so important a personage that he could command his own conditions, and no further obstacles were raised to the marriage, which was celebrated at Naples in September 1294. Guy de Charpigny of Vostitza, whom he appointed his vicar in Epirus, took over the administration of Ithamar's dower lands, including the fortress of Lepanto, and after his tragic end in the Morea Ponzard de Douay became Philip's bailie in Epirus.

Meanwhile, in consequence of these developments, the scheme for the marriage of Catherine de Courtenay to Michael Palæologus had necessarily to be abandoned, although Charles is reported by the chronicler to have been at one time willing to transfer all his hypothetical claims with his niece's hand to Michael in return for the tangible consideration of the kingdom of Thessalonica. He was now contemplating the possibility of securing peace with Sicily by a dynastic marriage between Catherine and Frederick of Aragon, and found plausible excuses to plead at Constantinople for breaking off the negotiations. The Princess, he represented, showed no inclination for the proposed alliance, the consent of the Pope could not be obtained, and he himself had not exclusive control

over the titular Empress, who had been summoned to the court of France. The contemplated marriage with Frederick of Aragon, however, came to naught, and another suitor, the Infant James of Minorca, was also rejected. Meanwhile Catherine spent her time between Naples and Paris. It was during her sojourn in France that she first attracted the attention of Charles of Valois, now Count of Anjou, whom she eventually married. Impatient with the impotence of the Neapolitan administration, Pope Boniface had invited this brother of Philippe le Bel to assist in the subjugation of Sicily, and among the inducements by which his co-operation was enlisted were the senatorship of Rome and the hand of Catherine, carrying with it the claim to the imperial throne. The marriage was celebrated in 1301, and in the summer of that year Charles of Valois arrived with a band of mercenaries at the papal seat of Anagni, where he met Charles II., who promised after the reconquest of Sicily to support him in vindicating the claims of his Countess to her titular throne in the east. The Valois, however, played but a sorry part in Italy, both in Florence, whither he went in a fruitless mission as captain-general of the Church and subsequently in Sicily, where he suffered a disastrous defeat. The peace of Calatabelotta in 1302 dissipated the ambitious dream with which his personal qualifications were altogether incommensurate.

Florence of Hainault had returned from Epirus towards the end of 1291.[1] In the same year Helena Dukas, the widow of Guillaume de la Roche, was married to Hugues de Brienne, Count of Lecce, who

[1] The Greek texts of the chronicle end with this expedition. Only in the Paris MS. the episode of the epigonous Geoffroi de Bruyères (see Chapter VII.) is given at the end as a sort of appendix. Both texts are obviously incomplete.

accordingly became the guardian of the infant Duke Guy II. His uncompromising attitude on the question of homage to Achaia and his refusal to acknowledge the obligation led to a dispute somewhat similar to that which had disturbed the neighbourly relations of Guy I. and William Villehardouin. The issue, which was referred to the court of Naples, threatened to lead to grave complications, and it was only finally settled some years later by Charles II. in favour of Achaia. There were, moreover, several troublesome questions which imposed upon Florence the necessity of visiting his liege lord in the spring of the following year. Venetian merchants had reported unfavourably of the restrictions placed on the liberty of commerce at Clarenza, and the Moreote nobles had lodged complaints with regard to spoliations effected in favour of the Prince's retainers. He went to Naples in May, leaving the Princess to act as regent during his absence. After due explanations had been given he took his leave in the middle of June, having probably cut his visit short, in consequence of news received from the Morea. For it appears to have been during this brief absence, and not as the chronicle puts it some years later, that an episode took place, which, it is evident from the manner of its relation there, became a favourite theme in the saga of Frankish chivalry.

A suspension of hostilities had been concluded between Naples and Sicily when James made his peace with the Pope on his succession to the throne of Aragon. His admiral, the famous Roger de Luria, was for the moment relieved from the duty of raiding or blockading the Neapolitan coasts, and he was free to seek adventure elsewhere. The Greek Emperor had favoured the Aragonese so long as it was his policy

to counteract the ambitious designs of the Angevines. But once negotiations were opened for a dynastic marriage between the son of Andronicus and Catherine de Courtenay, it was arguable that the Greeks had gone over to the enemy. In any case so notable a free-lance as the admiral of Sicily needed no better excuse for a raid on the Ægean outposts of the empire. The thirty galleys which he led from Messina lay off Clarenza, but the Frankish possessions in the Morea were covered by the suspension of hostilities with Naples, and there he came and went in peace. He did not, however, spare the islands of the Ghisi and the Sanudi, and he ruthlessly despoiled the wealthy Chios, and raided Lemnos and Lesbos. Then he made for Monemvasia, and having lulled its prosperous merchants into a false belief in their security, entered the city suddenly by night and got clear away with loot and provisions in plenty before the garrison could muster to the rescue. Rounding Cape Malea, he secured by a treacherous device a number of Mainote captives to sell into slavery, and then refitted in Crete. After touching at Modon on his homeward journey, he put into the bay of Zonklon (Navarino), and landed men to water. It is probable that, as he had in the first instance refrained from any hostile action at Clarenza, his intentions were still peaceful as far as the principality of Achaia was concerned. But the presence of the Sicilian fleet off Modon had aroused the suspicions of the governor of Calamata, Giorgio Ghisi, who by his marriage with the daughter and heiress of Guy de la Tremouille was now lord of the barony of Chalandritza. It is possible, moreover, that Ghisi had heard of Roger's raid on his father's property in Tinos and Myconos. He hastened to

Andrusa to enlist the assistance of Jean de Tournay, lord *in partibus* of Calavryta, and his brother Othon, who had, together with their father, been included among the hundred knights selected by Charles of Anjou to second him in the projected duel with Peter of Aragon. Collecting the available troops in the neighbourhood under their banners, they marched to the coast and attacked Roger de Luria's watering party at Zonklon. This roused the great sea-captain's wrath, and calling for his arms, he landed with his horsemen and attacked the Moreotes in turn. Jean de Tournay, who was accounted the most redoubtable cavalier in the principality, engaged the admiral in person and unhorsed him with a stroke of his lance. He was, however, soon surrounded by the Catalans, who killed his horse, and was defending himself single-handed with his sword against a ring of enemies, when Roger, with an old jouster's generous admiration for the knight who had unseated him,[1] called off his followers and summoned Tournay to put up his sword and surrender, since further resistance was useless. A fresh horse was sent for and the admiral himself escorted his prisoner to his famous red galley, where he invited him to lay aside his armour, and dressing him in a scarlet mantle of honour, he entertained him with every courtesy. His father, whom Roger de Luria had known personally, he described as one of the finest knights of his day, and he expressed his great regret that his illustrious prisoner was already married,[2] for "otherwise," he

[1] Muntaner testifies to Roger de Luria's prowess in the tourney, and tells of how he jousted with En Beranger d'Anguera, the giant champion of Castile, before the King of Aragon at Calathaya.

[2] To a daughter of Count Richard of Cephalonia. From his first wife, the daughter of Guy de la Tremouille, he had inherited Chalandritza.

said, "I would have given you my own daughter and made you one of the richest knights of Sicily."

Meanwhile Othon de Tournay, Ghisi, and six others had been brought down to the ships as prisoners. Jean begged that they might be taken to Clarenza, where the conditions of their ransom could be discussed, and money advanced for each to pay according to his means. Roger demurred to accepting any ransom for his late antagonist. Ghisi, however, he said, was rich, and his old father Bartolommeo, the lord of Tinos and Myconos, was richer still. He could well afford to pay ten thousand hyperpers to Jean de Tournay, to be expended on a suit of armour bearing the admiral's blazon, which he was to wear in remembrance of this encounter, and a second similar suit which Jean was to present to himself. For the other knights he asked no ransom. Tournay, however, honourably declined to purchase liberty at Ghisi's expense, and sent an esquire to Clarenza to raise a sum of four thousand hyperpers on his own account. The galleys followed, and Princess Isabella, who had collected all the forces she could muster, sent Roger an invitation to a parley. They met at the tower of Kalopotami, outside the walls of Clarenza, and there Roger explained that he had in no way been the aggressor, being well aware that Prince Florence, as the vassal of Naples, was included in the peace with Sicily, but that having been attacked while he was taking water, he had only acted in self-defence. Eight thousand hyperpers, advanced by the merchants of Clarenza, were paid as a ransom for Ghisi, and four thousand for Jean de Tournay. To the latter Roger gave his favourite horse and a complete suit of armour, lauding him in the presence of his liege lady as one of the bravest

knights of the world, from whom it was an honour to have received a fall. Isabella offered costly gifts of jewellery to the chivalrous freebooter, who revictualled his galleys and then took his leave in peace. In spite of his protestations, however, he showed little ceremony in visiting Patras, Cephalonia, and Corfu on his homeward journey to Messina, filling up such vacant space as remained in the holds of his ships with the plunder of their citizens.

The raid revealed the urgent necessity of making better provision for the safety of the principality, and Venice, aroused to a sense of danger which her colony had only escaped through Roger's forbearance, undertook some repairs in the neglected defences of Modon. In the following year Isabella gave her husband a daughter, who was christened Mahaulte[1] or Maude, the last Princess of the house of Villehardouin to rule in the Morea.

Another interesing episode in the history of Achaia during the reign of Florence, recorded by the chronicler, should follow next in chronological sequence.[2] Two Slavonians from Maina, who had acquired con-

[1] Mahaut, Mahaulte, or Mathilde. Romaic Μαάτα.

[2] The chronicle transposes the principal episodes of the reign of Florence. The story of the unintentional assassination of Guy de Charpigny is placed immediately after the expedition to Epirus. Then follows the account of the seizure of Calamata by the Slavonians, and the negotiations for its recovery. Thirdly in order is told the tale of Luria's raid. The last of these episodes should evidently be the first, as the suspension of hostilities between James of Aragon and Naples belongs to the year 1291. Guy of Vostitza was vicar for Philip of Tarentum in Epirus after the marriage of the latter in September 1294, and his murder apparently took place in 1295; whereas the seizure of Calamata and the efforts of the prince to obtain restitution from the Emperor took place during the life of Jean Chaudron, who died in 1294, and while the Neapolitan envoy Pierre de Surie was still in Constantinople, occupied with the abortive negotiations for a marriage between Catherine Courtenay and the heir to the Byzantine throne;—apparently in 1292 or 1293.

siderable wealth, probably by the successful pursuit of brigandage, and had established themselves at Gianitza, on the slopes of Mount Paximadhi, which lean down to Calamata, had occasion to observe that the castle was but weakly held, and accordingly formed a design to obtain possession of it by a sudden surprise. This fortress, the ruins of which still exist, is situated on an eminence rising from the maritime plain, strengthened by a natural perpendicular cliff on the side towards the town. One of their followers, while a prisoner in the keep, had secretly taken measurements of the walls with a string, and ladders of a suitable height were prepared. Choosing their opportunity, they brought up a band of fifty men unmolested to the castle wall, which they scaled, and were successful in overpowering the feeble garrison. These were followed by six hundred more marauders from Gianitza, who occupied the town in the name of the Emperor. When the news reached Florence of Hainault, he summoned the garrisons of Beauvoir and Clarenza to follow him, and marched to Nisi. Chaudron, who was deputed to tempt the invaders to surrender by the promise of fiefs, met with no success, and the Greek governor of Mistra, who was bound by treaty obligations to keep the peace, pleaded that he had no authority over the Slavonians, who lived in complete independence with their own laws and traditions. Florence was therefore compelled to undertake a siege, and to despatch envoys to the Emperor to request his intervention. The constable was selected for this purpose, and with him was associated Geoffroi d'Aunoy, who had special qualifications for the mission, inasmuch as a long imprisonment at Constantinople had

made him familiar with the language and the customs of the Greeks.[1]

On their arrival in the capital of the empire the envoys took up their residence in the Venetian quarter, but it was in vain that they applied for an audience of Andronicus, who was, they were informed, occupied with weighty affairs, and they were instructed to remain in the hostel till they received an invitation to court. A fortnight had thus passed without any further communication, when by a happy coincidence they met the Neapolitan ambassador, Pierre de Surie, who was conducting negotiations for the proposed marriage between Michael Palæologus and Catherine de Courtenay. He undertook to procure them an audience with the assistance of the Emperor's brother Theodore, with whom he was on very friendly terms, and urged them when summoned to the palace to affect surprise at seeing him there, and greet him as if they had not met before. They were now without further delay conducted to the imperial presence and, when Chaudron set forth the matter of his embassy, Pierre de Surie improved the occasion by exclaiming in an audible voice that there was evidently little hope of his carrying through the mission with which he had been entrusted, if in such small matters as this the Greeks showed no regard for justice. Andronicus, sensible of the reproach, ostentatiously issued orders that Calamata should be restored to the Prince of Achaia, but at the same time he secretly took steps to prevent any effect being given to these orders. After the envoys had returned to their hostel they were

[1] The new nobility recently imported into Achaia from Naples were not, like the sons of the original conquerors, familiar with the local language. The d'Aunoys were indeed not of this category, but they had only come to the Morea after the recovery of Constantinople by the Greeks.

joined there by a Greek captain of cavalry from the Byzantine portion of the Peloponnese, named Sgouromalæus,[1] who was well disposed towards the Franks. He had been present at their audience and, after pledging them to secrecy, informed them that the Emperor had in reality no intention of surrendering Calamata, and that he had personally received orders to take ship and hasten to Monemvasia with counter instructions, while they were making their way overland. He therefore recommended them to apply for a second audience, taking care that Pierre de Surie and the Despot Theodore should be present, and to crave the Emperor's permission to travel by a galley which they had heard was starting immediately for Monemvasia. They must also obtain letters ordering the restoration of the fortress to Florence. It was agreed that three thousand hyperpers should be paid to Sgouromalæus for his services in this matter. The second audience was procured, once more through the agency of Theodore, and the Emperor was unable to improvise any reasonable excuse for refusing their application, but he announced that it was to Geoffroi d'Aunoy personally, who was connected through his wife with the imperial family, that the castle was to be handed over. The envoys expressed their gratitude, and embarking on the galley, arrived at Monemvasia armed with the Emperor's letters, after a week's journey. Thence they made their way to Nisi to rejoin the Prince, while Sgouromalæus with three hundred horsemen rode by Veligosti through the Makry-plagi passes to Calamata. He entered the castle accompanied by ten of the archons and harangued the

[1] Sgouro Maly in the French text. Hopf conjectures plausibly that he may have been a Gasmule, of mixed Greek and Frankish blood.

Slavonian chiefs, to whom he announced that the Emperor, as an expression of his approval of their action, had assigned them lands of the value of ten thousand hyperpers. Meanwhile some fifty of his men pressed their way into the fortress, where they took up posts of vantage, and as soon as he felt himself strong enough to overawe the garrison, he read out the imperial rescript bestowing Calamata on Geoffroi d'Aunoy, and threatened to fling the Slavonians from the ramparts if they did not immediately evacuate the place. Chaudron and d'Aunoy hastened down from Nisi and took over the castle, while Jean de Tournay was sent to Maina to convey the thanks of the Prince to Sgouromalæus for his services, with the sum which had been promised and a richly caparisoned charger as a gift. The counter order revoking the cession to d'Aunoy had in the meantime arrived at Mistra, and Sgouromalæus paid for his devotion to the Frankish interests by the loss of his office, and ended his career in misery, a fugitive from the vengeance of the Byzantine authorities. D'Aunoy, who had received from the Emperor the personal cession of Calamata, now considered himself entitled to put forward a claim on his own behalf as a condition of its restoration to his liege lord. Arkadia, which had originally formed part of the patrimony of the Villehardouins, had in 1262 been constituted a supplementary barony of the principality, and bestowed on Vilain d'Aunoy, who came to Achaia after the Greek reconquest of Constantinople. His two sons, Érard and Geoffroi, each succeeded apparently to one-half of the barony, and Érard bequeathed his share to his widow. On her death it appears to have fallen into the domain of the Prince or to have been confiscated. Geoffroi d'Aunoy was now successful in

inducing the Prince to restore to him the other half of the barony, which he henceforth held in its entirety, and eventually bequeathed to his son Vilain II. After strengthening the defences of Calamata and furnishing it with an adequate garrison, the Prince, according to the chronicle, returned to the Morea, which is here used in the specialised sense to signify the maritime plains of Elis.

Not long after these events the constable Jean Chaudron died. He was one of the last of the old French stock, familiar with the local language and usages of the country, whose place had been largely taken in Achaia by hangers-on of the Neapolitan court or Flemish adventurers who had followed the fortunes of Florence. His widow, the fair Guglielma of Cephalonia, the beloved of the hereditary marshal, Nicholas III. of St. Omer, obtained from Charles II. a confirmation of her title to such of his possessions as had been settled on her as a widow's portion, and the rest of his fiefs went to his only daughter Bartolommea, who eventually married Niccolò Ghisi of Tinos.

Florence was thus deprived of his most experienced counsellor at a time when his advice was sorely needed. The conflict with the duchy of Athens had not yet found a solution, and Charles II. had recently instructed him to furnish a complete report on all the feudal tenures and princely domains of the Morea, whither he despatched a commission of inquiry. The Prince sent his chaplain to Naples to furnish explanations, and was not too well pleased when his envoy returned with a letter which was addressed in identical terms to himself and to the Duke of Athens, announcing that the overlordship over both of them had been transferred by the King to his son Philip of

Tarentum, to whom their homage was in future due. He feared that this transfer of sovereignty might prejudice his own claim, and refused to acknowledge any obligation to Philip until he had himself first received homage from the Duke as his sub-feudatory. At the same time other feudal suits and complaints which had been formulated against his administration compelled him to return to Naples in the summer of 1294, and Othon de St. Omer was appointed vicar during his absence. While he was at Naples the marriage of his sister-in-law Margaret Villehardouin, lady of Matagriffon, to Isnard de Sabran was celebrated there, and when he returned in October she accompanied him to the land of her birth with her husband. Three years later Isnard died, leaving an only daughter named after her aunt, Isabella,[1] and his widow contracted a second marriage with the old Count of Cephalonia, whose sons and daughters were contemporaries of the Princess herself.[2]

The vacant office of grand constable was bestowed on a nephew of Prince Florence, Engelbert de Liederkerke, who, as brother-in-law of Jean Chaudron's widow and guardian of his daughter Bartolommea, had a sort of family claim to the dignity.[3] His brother, a great favourite with the Prince, had been appointed to the important post of captain of the fortress of Corinth, where he lived in great state with

[1] See note on p. 134.

[2] Richard of Cephalonia had two sons: John, who married Maria Comnena of Epirus, and William; as well as three daughters, one married to Engelbert de Liederkerke, one to Jean de Tournay, while the third, Guglielma or Guillerma, was first the wife of Jean Chaudron and after his death of Nicholas de St. Omer.

[3] The chronicle states that this appointment was made by Isabella, after the death of Florence (p. 387 in the French text). Florence only died in 1297, and it does not seem probable that the office would have remained so long unfilled.

a magnificence which his revenues were not adequate to maintain. He was therefore in perpetual straits for money, and eagerly sought for opportunities to replenish his exchequer. Now there were in the captainate of Corinth certain areas known as *terres de parchon*, a designation which seems to imply that these lands were cultivated by the local peasantry and that the seignorial revenues had been divided on the advent of the Franks between the original territorial proprietors and their new feudal masters.[1] A certain Photius, belonging to the influential clan of Zassi, had rights over some of these lands and owned a large house in Corinth. The Zassi were a Greco-Slavonic family possessed of considerable substance in various parts of the peninsula, but chiefly in the neighbourhood of the Venetian colonies of Coron and Moron, with whose administrators they were from time to time in conflict. A brother of Photius, Jacobus Zassi,[2] who had the reputation of being one of the best soldiers in the service of the Greek Emperor, had long been established in the old Frankish barony of Calavryta. During the continuous fighting which had unsettled the Morea, it would seem that many of the old proprietors of Greek or Greco-Slavonic origin had withdrawn from the regions under Frankish occupation, but after the cessation of hostilities they began to find their way back, and the peasantry of Corinth, who for many years had only had their new masters to satisfy, complained to the captain that Photius had settled down with a

[1] "Casaux de parcon que il (*i.e.* li gentils home grec) avoient et partoient (partagaient) avec les gentils homes frans, les fiévés dou prince" (*F. C.*, p. 325). In a document of the year 1260, preserved in the archives at Mons, the Count of Hainault is stated to enjoy "le droit de mortemain sur les bourgeois et la mortemain ou parchon sur les habitants serfs des monastères."

[2] "Missire Jaque Chassy de la Colovrate." Calavryta had been in the hands of the Greeks since 1263.

large retinue among them devouring their substance, and that with two lords instead of one to rule over them their lot was unendurable. Gautier availed himself of the pretext to have Photius arrested and brought up to his castle on Acrocorinth, where he reproached him with having established himself on the partition lands, which the Franks had always respected, and threw him into prison threatening him with death, and finally declaring that he would only release him on payment of ten thousand hyperpers,[1] which his brother Jacobus Zassi was to guarantee. Photius however, in spite of the indignities inflicted on him, held firm until Messire Gautier began to exercise physical pressure, and caused two of his teeth to be torn out. He then paid a first instalment of one thousand hyperpers, and promised to make up the rest of the sum in time. On his release he hastened to Calavryta to his kinsmen, and enjoined them to submit his case to the Prince. Florence, who had doubtless received a very different version of the story from his nephew, rejected the appeal of the Zassi, and they therefore determined to avenge themselves in their own fashion. They set spies to watch the movements of Gautier, who had probably journeyed in person to Andravida to report on the incident, and these in due course announced that a Frankish baron, believed to be the captain of Corinth, was coasting along the gulf from Vostitza to the Isthmus, while his horses and men were travelling overland. The Frankish baron was, however, Guy de Charpigny, the universally popular lord of Vostitza who, delighted to have returned from his onerous charge as Philip of Tarentum's vicar in Epirus to his own domain in the lovely neighbour-

[1] Presumably silver hyperpers, equivalent to the Frankish Tourneys.

hood of the ancient Ægion, was on his way to pay a visit to his neighbour of the Isthmus. He disembarked to take his midday meal with his little company of two knights and four esquires beside a spring at a spot known as St. Nicholas by the Fig-tree. While they were sitting there unarmed in apparent security, Photius and his following came upon them, riding slowly so as not to excite suspicion. As they drew near Photius, seeing the long fair hair of Guy de Charpigny, mistook him for his enemy, to whom he bore some resemblance, and spurring his horse, dashed up and struck him a deadly blow on the head, exclaiming, "Now, Messire Gautier, you have your payment in full!" Hardly had the blow been struck when he realised his fatal error with bitter remorse, for he accounted the lord of Vostitza his good friend. Leaping to the ground, Photius took him in his arms and shed hot tears, imploring his forgiveness. The Franks, who were altogether outnumbered, decided that the only course to take was to place their wounded lord in the boat and hurry on to Corinth, which they reached the same evening. Painfully and with great difficulty Messire Guy was brought into the city, where the doctors pronounced the wound so deep that only a miracle could save life. The verdict was broken gently to the wounded knight, who heard it with composure and thanked the doctors for their honesty. He made his will in favour of his son Hugh, and after receiving his dues as a Christian man, died in the course of the following day, to the great regret of Frank and Greek alike. Photius took refuge with the governor of Mistrá. The representations of the Prince, who demanded justice against the Zassi of Calavryta, were met with a counter-claim for the

punishment of Gautier de Liederkerke, whose avarice had provoked this disastrous act of reprisal. The only immediate result was the exodus from the Frankish territory of a number of the Romaic settlers who had taken advantage of the peace to establish themselves in so desirable a station as Corinth.

It did not suit the policy of Florence at that moment to make this episode a pretext for denouncing the suspension of hostilities with Mistra, and he preferred to bide his time. His relations with the Frankish barons were not of the best. The feudal dispute with Athens had not been solved by the transfer of sovereignty to Philip of Tarentum, and, encouraged by the attitude of Brienne, Othon de St. Omer, who in 1294 succeeded his elder brother Nicholas as lord of the half-barony of Thebes, had also refused the act of homage to Florence, and was kept under arrest for a year. Othon on his side revived a claim against the Prince for the repayment of a sum of seven thousand hyperpers advanced by his brother, and devoted to strengthening the castles of Achaia. It was only on express orders from Charles II. and from Philip of Tarentum that he was eventually released. In 1296 Florence went once more to Naples, leaving the Princess to act as regent during his absence. On this occasion as on his former visits he obtained an authorisation to import corn from Apulia, the constant source of supply for both grain and horses. But little of the country held by the Franks in the Peloponnese was adapted for horse-breeding, so that the maintenance of the cavalry arm, in which lay their traditional superiority, depended on a constant supply of remounts from the kingdom. The corn which the Morea produced was evidently also insufficient for its require-

ments. But it seems probable that many arable tracts had been devoted to more profitable crops, for the principality had its staple produce, and the Venetians who obtained plentiful supplies of cotton there, held their commercial interests in the country sufficiently important to justify the establishment of a consulate at Clarenza.

During the visit of the Prince to Naples an episode occurred which eventually did actually bring about a rupture of the peace with the Greeks. In a level meadow-land known as the Livadi, not far from the town of Vervena, in Arcadia but close to the Laconian border, there was held in the early summer of every year an important fair which was largely frequented by both the Greeks and Latins. Thither came, as was his wont, the knight Gérard de Remy from the castle of La Ninice.[1] As chance would have it he fell out, perhaps over a bargain, with a Greek silk-merchant named Chalcocondyles,[2] and in a high-handed manner struck him with the shaft of his lance. The blow rankled and Chalcocondyles meditated revenge. He had a son-in-law named Anino, who was employed as a cellarer in the castle of St. George at Great Arachova,[3] a position of great importance to the Franks

[1] Probably Nemnitza, in northern Arcadia, north-east of Dimitzana and south of Vitina. From its position it may have been a sub-fief of Akova.

[2] Corcondille and Corcondilo in the French text.

[3] According to the chronicle this castle of St. George stood over Arachova. It guarded the Stenuri on the road from Tripolitza to Mistra. Elsewhere the chronicle refers to it as the castle of "St. George of Escorta," which is somewhat confusing, inasmuch as there exists a Palæocastro of St. George on the hill of Karyaes south of Carytena, and Arachova is really within the Laconian border. But Escorta is here and often used as synonymous with Arcadia, the approaches to which the castle protected. Buchon identifies it with an existing ruin in the Xerokampos, a little north-east of Arachova, which he calls "Kastro tis Oraias." But his castle of the beautiful lady is really Oraiokastro, the Greek rendering of Beaufort, the castle built by Florence of Hainault to contain St. George after the Greeks had taken it.

on the Arcadian border of Laconia, south of Nikli, protecting the northern roads against the governor of Mistra and watching over the highway to Escorta. Brooding over his wrongs, he conceived the design of obtaining possession of the castle with the connivance of Anino and offering it to the strategus. Once St. George was in the hands of the Greeks, it would, he argued, be easy for them to invade Escorta, by which the ultimate end of his ambition, the surrender of Gérard de Remy to his vengeance, might be effected. Anino entered into his plans and was successful in corrupting the sergeant who had charge of the fortress, while Chalcocondyles approached his kinsman Mavropapas, who commanded a band of a hundred Turkish mercenaries in the imperial service. Mavropapas again referred the proposal to the governor at Mistra, who, remembering the satisfaction secretly expressed in Constantinople at the treacherous seizure of Calamata, gave countenance to the scheme. The Turks were quartered at Chelmos, where they affected to be occupied with the pleasures of the chase. Meanwhile Chalcocondyles with ten of his men approached the castle under cover of night, at an hour previously concerted with Bonifazio the sergeant, and found a ladder in position by which they were enabled to gain access to the keep. The unsuspecting garrison were easily overpowered, and signal fires were lighted to summon the band of Mavropapas, who entered the castle at daybreak and took possession in the Emperor's name.[1]

[1] The Aragonese chronicle (§ 474 to § 485) assigns to the reign of Florence a dispute which resembles this episode in the French chronicle sufficiently to suggest a common origin for both. But the scene is laid at a church near Nikli much resorted to on festal occasions. Certain Greeks, it is said, there provoked the Franks to use violence, in order to have a pretext for attacking

Florence had only just returned to Andravida from Naples when the bad news was reported. He at once proceeded with the garrison of Beauvoir and a hundred horsemen to the spot to support the captain of Escorta who had already invested the castle. He pitched his tent among the chestnuts by a neighbouring spring, and swore that he would not return until the fortress was surrendered. A counter-fort was already in process of construction on a height to the west of the hill of St. George, but Florence disapproved of the site selected and commenced another stronghold on a high scarp of Mount Malevo,[1] while he requested the administrator at Coron to furnish him with six catapults capable of launching thence missiles of fifty pounds weight. In spite of all his efforts the siege dragged on, and when winter set in early and with exceptional inclemency he was compelled to abandon his lofty counterwork and build a castle lower down to contain the hostile position. Thus arose the new stronghold of Beaufort,[2] constructed with infinite difficulty owing to the inequalities of the ground. The Franks were always short of troops, and Isabella now went herself to Brindisi to collect expert bowmen for the garrison, while Florence entered into negotiations with a Slavonic chieftain of Taygetus, who agreed to furnish him with two hundred capable men in return for a cession of

Nikli, which was on this occasion recovered by them and razed to the ground, having from its situation in the plain no aptitude for defence. In its place two castles were constructed on the heights at Moukli and Cepiana. The site of the latter has not been identified. The disappearance of Nikli is thus accounted for. There is a tradition among the inhabitants that Tripolitza was so named from being a fusion of the three places, Nikli (Tegea), Moukli, and Mantinea.

[1] The ancient Parnon.

[2] The ruins of this castle as a conical height in the south-east angle of the little plain of Xerokampos are still called by the Greek equivalent of Beaufort, Oraiokastro.

two villages in the Calamata district. The Prince established his cavalry at Vervena and then returned to Andravida, deferring active measures against the Greeks, with whom there could no longer be any question of maintaining the peace, until the spring. But the gallant Florence of Hainault was not destined to see the return of the campaigning season, and a successful and still promising career was cut short by his premature death in January 1297. He was the last of these knights-errant from the north who followed the quest of adventure in the lands towards the sunrise, and proved a not unworthy successor of the dead Villehardouin, identifying himself as Prince of Achaia with the fortunes of his adopted country. Like so many of the Frankish nobles he left no son behind, and Mahaulte or Maud of Hainault, his only daughter, succeeded to his fiefs in the Netherlands and became prospective heiress of the principality.

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CHAPTER IX

ISABELLA VILLEHARDOUIN AND PHILIP OF SAVOY—PHILIP OF TARENTUM

ISABELLA now succeeded to the administration of Achaia, in accordance with the arrangement sanctioned by Charles II. in 1289. She remained sole ruler for some four years, and caused coins to be struck in her own name at Clarenza. According to the chronicle, which becomes a more trustworthy document as we approach the time at which it was composed, she soon after the death of Florence withdrew from Morea, that is to say from the maritime plain of Elis,[1] and took up her residence first at Calamata and then at Nisi, appointing Count Richard of Cephalonia to act as her vicar. At the same time she conferred on Benjamin of Calamata[2] the office of chancellor, which had been filled by Leonardo da Veruli in her father's lifetime. A new fortress was constructed by her orders in the "Val de Calami,"[3] and called Chastel-neuf, to be the headquarters of a captanate controlling all the stations in the direction of Zonklon (Navarino) and Arkadia.

[1] *F. C.*, p. 386.

[2] Perhaps of Hebrew origin.

[3] A village called Kalami is indicated by Leake on the left of the road from Calamata to Pidhina. Some remains of a Frankish castle may be seen on the heights above Pidhina. They are probably the ruins of Chastel-neuf. A castle thus situated would suit the intended purpose better than Calamata, which is on the wrong side of the Nedon for the protection of the western districts.

The governor was empowered by a general council of the local barons and feudatories to collect all the dues formerly paid to the Greeks at Mistra and Gardiki, for a term of seven years. Suitors were naturally not lacking for the hand of so well dowered a widow and, if Pachymer may be believed, a proposal was actually mooted at Constantinople for reuniting the whole Peloponnese to the empire by the marriage of Isabella to the son of Andronicus, who was still a young boy. A more suitable but also a youthful competitor was Philip, son of Thomas III., Count of Maurienne and Piedmont, the nephew of Amedeo V. of Savoy, who sent a confidential agent to Rome to bespeak the support of the Pope.[1] Isabella herself was for the moment rather concerned with the prospective marriage of her little daughter. In an age when the matrimonial alliances of princes were almost exclusively arranged in dynastic or feudal interests, there was little or no repugnance either to the conclusion of such contracts between infants, or to the union of the most incompatible ages. Isabella had inherited from her late husband the long-standing feud with the duchy, which will be more fully discussed in a subsequent chapter, and so embittered had relations become between the two principalities, that there had seemed at one time to be actual danger of war. Having been herself removed in early childhood from the bright atmosphere of chivalrous Morea to the gloomy state of the Angevine court, she saw nothing strange or unnatural in the advice of Count Richard, of St. Omer the marshal, and the other barons assembled at Beauvoir, that she should open negotiations for the marriage of her daughter Mahaulte, who was

[1] Datta, *Principi di Savoia del Ramo d'Acaia.*

then only five years old, with the young Duke Guiot, a marriage which would finally terminate the conflict by an eventual union of Athens and Achaia. Messengers were accordingly despatched to Thebes to submit the proposal to the Duke, to whom it could scarcely be other than acceptable, and he forthwith set out for Vlisiri. The marriage settlements were drawn up without delay, Calamata[1] being assigned to the future Duchess as her portion. The bishop of Olenos did not scruple to perform a ceremony which was perhaps no more than a binding betrothal. Guiot remained the guest of Isabella for three weeks, and then took his leave, carrying with him *sa feme la duchesse*, just when she most needed a mother's care, over rugged and difficult passes to the court from which his own mother, Helena Dukas, had recently withdrawn. Such were the hard uses of those heartless days.

So far all had gone smoothly and the internal peace of the Frankish states seemed to be assured, but essential preliminaries had been omitted, the papal dispensation and the permission of Charles II. on which, under the terms of the settlement of 1289, the inheritance of Achaia by Isabella's daughter was conditional. A peremptory order from Naples instructed the Duke to restore the little Duchess to her mother's arms; the royal consent to the match would be forthcoming when she had reached a suitable age. Before long, however, Charles relented and, in a rescript dated April 18, 1300, he duly sanctioned the marriage, having realised that it was for the advantage of the

[1] Charles of Anjou had obtained Calamata from Anna Comnena, William Villehardouin's widow (see vol. i. p. 266), but it was only as Prince of Achaia that he held it, and it was ceded with the rest of the principality to Florence and Isabella.

western supremacy. His recognition was followed by the issue of the necessary dispensation from Boniface VIII. It was about the same time that Margaret Villehardouin, Isabella's sister, whose husband Isnard de Sabran had died, leaving her with an only daughter, married the old Count of Cephalonia to the extreme annoyance of his existing family, and brought him as a marriage portion Matagriffon and other fiefs in Achaia.[1]

In the meantime Charles II. had despatched the Neapolitan governor in Epirus, Geoffrey of Porto, as commissioner to the east with instructions to negotiate for peace with the empire. He visited Achaia, which was to be included in the arrangement, as well as Athens, whose ruler now exercised a controlling influence at Neo-Patras, where the old adventurer, Johannes Dukas, had been replaced by his second son Constantine.[2] His efforts were so far successful that in 1300 a suspension of hostilities was concluded, the terms of which also comprehended Thessaly.

At the instance of Boniface, Isabella was now called upon to deal with a somewhat difficult question, in which Thomas of Salona had become deeply involved. The Celestine Eremites had become an object of particular aversion to the Pope. They were fanatical mendicant monks, a branch of the Franciscans, who claimed to observe the stricter rule of the saintly founder, but were denounced as sectarian by the majority of the order. They had become an independent congregation under the protection of Peter

[1] For the descendants of Count Richard of Cephalonia see note on p. 25. Guillerma and Margaret Villehardouin must have been almost contemporaries.

[2] Michael Dukas had apparently died while a prisoner in Constantinople.

of Murrone, the unhappy hermit, who was reluctantly dragged from his mountain solitude and set by the irony of fortune on the proudest of all thrones, to resign it after a few miserable months, and earn by his renunciation the sincere eulogy of Petrarch and the eternal commendation of Dante. Like that minority of the first followers of St. Francis, who rejected the milder rule of the more practical Fra Elia, they clung to the extreme literal interpretation of unconditional poverty, in opposition to the expressed will of the supreme Church. Believing in the proximate advent of the kingdom of the Holy Ghost, foretold by the mystic Joachin de Flore, their teaching was subversive of existing political organisations and fatal to the development of civil society. The election to the papal see of the most conspicuous of these religious anarchists may well have seemed to menace the whole social order. Benedetto Gaetani, who succeeded him as Boniface VIII., had played a very conspicuous part in bringing about the abdication of the scared anchorite and, with the political instincts of a man of the world, he set to work to suppress the dangerous teaching of the Celestines, not the less zealously because they asserted the invalidity of a papal resignation, while not a few of them contemplated the restoration of their patron. Celestine, placed under restraint in a fortress at Fumone in the Hernican mountains, died after eighteen months' confinement, and his followers were hunted down with ruthless severity. A number of these monks, led by Liberatus and Pietro di Macerata, crossed over into Greece, where the archbishop of Patras gave them countenance, and a little island was allotted to them as a residence by Thomas of Salona, the third of that name. Not even there, however, were they suffered

to remain in peace. The provincials of the Franciscans persecuted their sectarian brethren, and in a rescript of January 11, 1300, Charles II. instructed Isabella to take energetic measures for their suppression.

Having doubtless earned the gratitude of the Holy Father by a loyal execution of these orders, Isabella determined herself to visit Rome, where the Bull of Jubilee offered remission of every sin to all save the enemies of the Church, who should during the secular year make a pilgrimage to the great basilicas of St. Peter and St. Paul. By the advice of her barons she conferred the bailieship of Achaia during her absence on Nicholas III. of St. Omer, the most brilliant nobleman of the time in Frankish Romania. The Count of Cephalonia, who had previously held the office, was considered too advanced in years to undertake the charge again. The Princess embarked in one of the Venetian galleys which touched at Clarenza on the return journey from Alexandria, and landed at Ancona, whence she made her way across the mountains to the Holy City. Rome was at that time thronged with pilgrims from all parts of the world, and not the least of the wonders which appealed to its visitors was, according to Giovanni Villani, the manner in which that vast concourse of people found shelter and nourishment for themselves, their attendants and their transport animals, without any disturbance or confusion. It was not altogether by mere coincidence that in her daily visits to the famous shrines her train was constantly attended by another noble pilgrim, Philip of Savoy, Count in Piedmont, who had received timely notice of her intended journey, and now availed himself of her presence in Italy to pay his court in person. Charles II., who counted on the eventual reversion of

Achaia to his own family, was bound to oppose the projects of Count Philip, and was entitled to do so by the terms of his contract of retrocession to Isabella on her marriage to Florence of Hainault. But the Princess considered herself the legitimate heiress of the principality which her grandfather had acquired, and the countenance of the Church encouraged her to disregard conditions which she might justifiably argue had been unfairly extorted from her. On the 13th of February 1301 she gave her hand to her youthful suitor in the presence of his uncle the Count of Savoy, the archbishop of Lyons, and other nobles,[1] just six days after Charles had formulated a definite protest. The wedding was celebrated in great pomp and circumstance, with due attendance of jongleurs and troubadours,[2] and Isabella, in view of her possible death without an heir, made over to her husband the castle and town of Corinth with all its appurtenances and rights,[3] to indemnify him for his services and costs in maintaining the principality. Charles was at the time on his way to Rome to crave subsidies from the Pope for the prosecution of the war with Sicily, which had entirely depleted his treasury. It appears from the contents of a rescript of the year 1306,[4] in which he finally disposed of the claims of Isabella and Philip of Savoy, that he foresaw the intercession of the Pope in their behalf at this time, and realised that he would be in no position to hold out against such an appeal.

[1] In the marriage reckoning preserved in the archives at Turin (see Hopf, *Chron. C. R.*) a Comes de Nichola is referred to as present. This can scarcely be St. Omer, who was acting as bailie in Achaia, unless he had temporarily handed over his office to a substitute.

[2] The total cost of the banquet was no less than ccccIxxxviii. libre, xvii. solidi, ix. denarii of Viennese money.

[3] Guichenon, *Savoie*, Livre VI., Tome IV. p. 102.

[4] *Reg. Ang.*, 147, fol. 41, 1306.

He therefore, not intending that such intercession should avail to extinguish Isabella's transgression, disingenuously determined to anticipate it by secretly conceding the principality to his son Philip of Tarentum and, as the latter was then absent from the realm,[1] he invested John of Veruli as proxy with his ring at Calvi, in order to prevent any concession which the Pope might extract from him causing prejudice to his son's eventual rights. It was therefore explicitly declared in the rescript that although he afterwards ratified the marriage already contracted between Isabella and Philip of Savoy, the cession of the principality previously made to his own son was to be held valid and irrevocable. This transfer of Achaia to Philip of Tarentum, withheld from publicity at the time, and only for the first time notified in a rescript of 1304, may seem hardly consistent with the fact that there was a previous cession of the overlordship to him at the time of his marriage to Ithamar in 1294.[2] But in conferring on his son the right of receiving homage for Achaia and Athens as a *pheudum nobile*, to be held by himself and his heirs, Charles did not intend to curtail his own real power of disposing of the principality, or to divest himself of any of the rights secured to his father by the treaty of Viterbo.[3]

The anticipations of Charles II. were realised, and

[1] He had in 1299 fallen into the hands of Frederick of Sicily as a prisoner after the disaster at Falconara.

[2] In the rescript of 1304 this apparent inconsistency is discounted. It runs: "Non obstante quod ante donacionem presentem, prestationem ejusmodi feudalis servitii, nobis et heredibus nostris pro principatu ipso debiti, concesseramus eidem principi." (*Reg. Ang.*, 143, 1304, F, fol. 24.)

[3] It appears from the terms of the will of Charles II. (published in Lünig's *Codex Italiæ Diplomaticus*) that Philip of Tarentum was to hold Achaia, like his titular Italian possessions, as a fief of Naples. The transfer of the overlordship in 1294 had therefore not severed the essential title of the crown established by the treaty of Viterbo.

he was unable to resist the strong pressure brought to bear upon him by Boniface after his arrival in Rome. He therefore, ten days after the wedding, acting on behalf of his absent son, invested Philip of Savoy with Achaia at his hostel in the quarter of St. John Lateran,[1] and duly ratified the marriage contract. The bride and bridegroom then left Rome for Pignerolo in Piedmont, where Isabella's second daughter Margaret was born, and the notables of Achaia were meanwhile informed that the principality had been conferred upon her third husband. It was not till December of the following year that she returned with Philip to the Morea. Arrangements were made with Venice for the transport of the princely pair and their followers, and they embarked for Clarenza at Ancona, accompanied by Count Guido de Montbel, Hugo de Miribel, and other nobles of Savoy and Piedmont, together with a company of sixty knights and three hundred foot soldiers.

Philip of Savoy pledged himself to respect the usages of Achaia and received the homage of the barons, who duly verified the ratification of the marriage contract. His first care was to set the finances in order and collect arrears of revenue, and he early began to incur unpopularity by laying heavy burdens on the country to meet the expenses of a court which he maintained on an extravagant scale. He filled the fortresses with Piedmontese mercenaries, and was criticised for displaying a disposition to apply in the Morea the system which he had learned from the tyrants of Lombardy.[2] Before long financial embarrassments led him to adopt questionable expedients, and he arrested Benjamin of Calamata on an unsupported

[1] Turin Archives. Guichenon, *op. cit.*, p. 103. [2] *F. C.*, p. 400.

charge inspired by a certain Vincent de Marays, of having filled his own pockets from the public exchequer during Isabella's absence in Italy. This Vincent de Marays, a knight from Picardy, was a partisan of the Count of Cephalonia, and bore a grudge against the chancellor, whom he suspected of having counselled the supersession of his patron as bailie. The chancellor appealed to Nicholas de St. Omer, who, uniting in his person the representation of the ancient baronies of Passava, Akova, and Thebes, was regarded as the typical champion of the old Moreote nobility. Nicholas warmly espoused his cause, and entering the Prince's chamber with little ceremony, haughtily demanded to be told on what grounds the arrest had been made, in defiance of the usages of the land which Philip had sworn to observe. "And where, fair cousin," said the Prince, "did you discover these usages?" The marshal for answer unsheathed his sword, exclaiming: "Herein behold our usages; with the steel our forefathers won this land, and with the steel we uphold our freedom, and the customs which you seek to curtail or ignore." The Princess, who apprehended an attack upon her husband, interposed; but Nicholas protested that he was a liegeman and true, and had no sinister intent. Nevertheless if the Prince did not abide by his oath and respect the usages of Achaia, the barons could not respect their oath to him. He was convinced, however, that the action taken was due to the inspiration of evil counsellors. In the end an account was required of the chancellor, who was restored to liberty, but had to make a deposit of 20,000 hyperpers, in return for which Philip assigned him lands estimated as yielding an annual revenue of 6000. On Count Richard, whom he rightly judged to be the real instigator of the

charge, Philip took revenge by extracting from him a loan of 20,000, interest on which was provided by the assignation of certain crown lands to the Count and the children of his second marriage. The fiefs in question fell in again before long to the Prince's treasury, as Richard's only daughter by Margaret Villehardouin did not long survive her father, who in 1304 was killed at the door of his own house in Clarenza by one of his knights, whom he had struck in a moment of passion.

In the summer of 1303 Guiot, Duke of Athens, paid a ceremonial visit to Philip and Isabella, and did homage for the duchy, for his Peloponnesian possessions, and his wife's dower of Calamata. Their meeting was cordial and distinguished by all the pomp and luxury in which the Prince of Achaia delighted. The scene was Vostitza, on the beautiful bay of Ægion, with its unrivalled prospect over the gulf of Salona and the rugged heights of Delphi, over which towers the haunted summit of Parnassus. From this encounter Guiot was suddenly called away to undertake the regency of Thessaly as guardian of the infant Johannes Angelus. In the following year aggressions on the territory of Great Vlachia, instigated by the intriguing Anna of Epirus, forced him actually to take the field there, and he consequently claimed the feudal service of Nicholas de St. Omer, who was his vassal for the half-barony of Thebes. Philip refused to sanction the marshal's departure, but St. Omer, haughtily disregarding the interdiction, joined the Duke, not without some misgivings as to the possible confiscation of his fiefs in the Morea.

The Prince was under no illusions regarding the precarious character of his tenure, especially after

Philip of Tarentum had in 1302 regained his liberty with the peace of Calatabelotta. He determined therefore that, if he should at any time be compelled to withdraw from the country, he would not leave it empty-handed. His evil genius, Vincent de Marays, who lived in the country of Escorta, moved once more by the desire to gratify some personal rancour, persuaded him to lay a heavy impost on the stubborn and independent Arcadian population, which included many wealthy proprietors. Arbitrary and irregular levies were wholly contrary to the usages and privileges established by a century of Frankish rule. But Philip, listening to the suggestions of the crafty Picard, took advantage of the departure of St. Omer, the defender of the old tradition, to place the archons under contribution. The absence of the marshal, however, had also its effect in encouraging the Escortans to resistance. Rallying round their head men, Georgi and Janni Mikronas, they declined to pay the tribute, and sent emissaries to the strategus at Mistra, offering allegiance and declaring that all the archons of Escorta were ready to rise in favour of the Emperor. The strategus accepted these overtures and collecting a force marched on Andritzena, while the insurgents carried and destroyed by fire the weakly-defended castle of St. Helena,[1] in the region known as Xero-Carytena, south of the Alpheius, after which they battered down the castle of Crèvecœur,[2]

[1] The castle of St. Helena can be identified on an Hellenic site above Lavda, the acropolis apparently of the ancient Theisoa. This name is still preserved locally.

[2] A ruined castle on the hill Fanarítiko, two miles north-west of Andritzena, would correspond approximately to the situation indicated for Crève-cœur, but in a list of the castles of the year 1364 (see App. I. Note 16) Fanari and Crève-cœur are both mentioned, the former as in Grisera (Vlisiri), the latter as in Escorta.

situated still deeper in the mountains towards Andritzena, where they effected a junction with the troops from Mistra. On the south-eastern border, however, the stronghold of Beaufort, which had been solidly constructed of cemented limestone by Florence of Hainault to counterbalance the advantage secured by the Greeks when they seized the fort of St. George, resisted all their efforts and was stoutly defended by Gracien de Boucère with an adequate garrison of archers and crossbowmen. Meanwhile the captain of Escorta, Nicholas Lenoir of St. Sauveur, who held Carytena for the Duke of Athens, collecting all the men-at-arms he could muster, occupied the heights above Beaufort and sent urgent messages to the Prince at Andravida, bidding him hasten to the rescue, if he was not prepared to lose Escorta altogether. Philip had now good cause to regret the marshal's absence. He summoned his barons to follow him, and marching south spread panic among the Greeks who withdrew in haste towards St. George and Arachova. Lenoir failed to understand the signals made to him from the keep at Beaufort, and believing himself about to be attacked, lost time in following up the retreating enemy. He was, however, not too late to secure a considerable booty. All was over when Philip himself arrived on the scene, and it only remained for him to confiscate the property of the ringleaders, and strengthen the garrisons in Escorta under the orders of Lenoir.

The disposal of the property of Count Richard of Cephalonia led to a fresh and serious dispute between the Prince and St. Omer in his character as advocate and champion of the Moreote nobles. The old Count's reluctance to give execution to his elder son's marriage

settlement, which entailed the cession of Ithaca and other lands, had led to a family feud in consequence of which Count John resided permanently at the court of his father-in-law at Arta. After his father's assassination, he returned to take possession of his inheritance, and was duly invested at Clarenza by Philip, who on this occasion received a handsome consideration from his vassal in anticipation of favours to come. John confirmed the obligation he had contracted on his marriage with Maria of Epirus to assign half of his possessions to her as a portion for her widowhood,[1] but, counting on the indulgence of Philip of Savoy, he showed no disposition to carry out the provisions of his father's will, by which the reversion of all his movable property was assigned to his widow, Margaret Villehardouin. The Prince supported his vassal against his own sister-in-law, whose only hope of attaining justice appeared to her to lie in the intervention of Nicholas de St. Omer. In the summer of 1304 the marshal returned from Thessaly and chivalrously responded to her appeal. It was no doubt at this time that his wife, the fair Guglielma of Cephalonia, whom he had married after the death of Chaudron, first conceived that violent jealousy of her stepmother, which was before long to occasion a grave scandal in the Morea. He accompanied Margaret to the presence of the Prince, who after the brief campaign in Escorta was spending the hot summer season at the estate of one of his vassals, perhaps Vincent de Marays, on the banks of the Alpheius. When her advocate had expounded the

[1] Du Cange in his History of the Empire (Pt. II. p. 48 of the edition of 1657) publishes this document, which he derived from the archives of the Courtenay family.

claim of the Princess to the property illegally withheld, Count John, who was also present, addressed his stepmother in somewhat unbecoming language. Thereupon St. Omer interposed, reproving him for want of courtesy to the sister of his liege lady, and already their hands were fretting at their sword-hilts when the marshal, realising that the lady's case would only be prejudiced by violence, deftly changed the tone of his discourse. His forbearance, however, did not go so far as to brook the interference of Vincent de Marays, who supported the contentions of the Count. The indignant marshal was on the point of using violence once more, and insisted in any case on the withdrawal from the court of one who had no right to speak there. Not even the Prince himself, he contended, could judge an issue between the daughter of Villehardouin and the Count of Cephalonia, but only the twelve barons who were peers of the realm. To this plea there was no reply, and the court adjourned until the morrow. Meanwhile the Prince consulted his advisers and bitterly complained of the arrogant behaviour of the marshal, who had not for the first time put a slight upon him, and whose pride he intended to humble. But the constable, the bishop of Olenos and others preached conciliation and prudence. The marshal's plea could not be gainsaid, for it was in accordance with the usages, and any attempt to humiliate so great and universally popular a noble must be fraught with danger, seeing that there were very many who might throw in their lot with him even against the Prince himself. It was safer policy to have him for a friend than for an enemy. The wisdom of this advice appealed to Philip, who inquired how he might best

compose the quarrel between his stepmother and the Count. His advisers suggested a compromise on the ground that Count Richard's provision for his widow had been made upon too liberal a scale. If the whole of his personal estate were valued at 100,000 hyperpers, they argued that in equity 20,000 should suffice to satisfy the claims of his widow. The master of the Templars and Hugues de Charpigny were deputed to persuade Margaret and her champion to agree to this solution. The settlement, accepted perhaps with a reservation, did not prevent her from once more putting forward a claim to the whole amount ten years later, when her daughter was married to Ferdinand of Majorca.

The Prince was now suddenly compelled to abandon his pleasant retirement in the garden lands on the banks of the Alpheius by a summons from his overlord to take the field in an expedition to Epirus, this time against and not in support of the Despina Anna, whose son-in-law John of Cephalonia was also called upon for a contingent. The Despot Nicephorus was dead, and his son Thomas had reached the age of fifteen years. His sister Ithamar, the wife of Philip of Tarentum, had, in spite of the engagements taken before she married, either been induced or compelled to abandon the orthodox rite, and now bore the catholic name of Catherine. The ambitious Anna Cantacuzena did not apparently contend that the other conditions of the marriage pact were thereby annulled, but she could not contemplate with equanimity the cession of the real power in the despotate to the catholic Philip. She looked for support, as a patriotic Greek, to Constantinople, and sought to arrange a marriage between her son Thomas and the

daughter of Michael Palæologus,[1] who was now associated as co-Emperor with his father, promising to hand over to his authority all the territories which had not yet passed under the control of her daughter's husband. Charles II. had offered Anna and her son the choice between either surrendering the whole of the despotate forthwith, or doing homage for its retention. The Despina replied, not without justice in view of the existing engagements, that her son was the vassal of the Emperor, and that the claims of Philip of Tarentum would only come up for practical consideration in the event of his death without heirs. This message was met by a declaration of war, and a small expedition, consisting of 200 horse and 300 foot, under Jean Maucevrier and Raymond de Candolle, the Angevine bailie, were landed at a little port not far distant from Arta. St. Omer, once more his Prince's loyal vassal, accompanied the band of 300 horsemen which the latter conveyed across the gulf of Corinth to join the bailie, who was further reinforced by 100 more under John of Cephalonia. The campaign was brief and inglorious. The Despot and his mother abandoned Arta, and withdrew to Jannina, where the castle, strongly garrisoned, defied the besiegers so successfully that they exhausted their supplies and were compelled to retire upon their transports at the coast. An assault on the fortress of Rogus, crowning a height between the channels of the river St. George, was not only repulsed, but some hundred of the attacking party were sacrificed by a reckless want of precaution. A blockade of Arta was commenced, but the surrounding country yielded neither forage nor supplies, and the season

[1] Pachymer's *Andronicus*, v. 30.

being far advanced the siege was raised and further hostilities were abandoned. Raymond de Candolle remained behind in charge of the Neapolitan castles, and Philip and St. Omer returned to the Morea for the winter season. On their homeward march through the defiles of Makrinoros they were attacked by the Despot's army in force and compelled to take higher ground. Count John, however, fought a rearguard action and succeeded in dispersing the Epirotes, who did not further molest their retirement.

Philip's position was now full of difficulty. He had alienated the sympathies of the Frankish nobles. The shabby treatment accorded to Margaret Villehardouin had attracted attention at Naples, and doubtless many other complaints of his levies and exactions had reached the ear of King Charles. He had not yet paid the formal act of homage to Philip of Tarentum, and he had been ill-advised enough to make conditions before undertaking this obligation. So dissatisfied was the King with his attitude that, in October 1304, he reverted to the decision he had taken at the time of Isabella's third marriage, and declared that, as that union had been contracted without the sovereign's consent, her lands were forfeited, and Philip of Tarentum was empowered to do what he chose with Achaia.[1] It is true that for the moment this decision was not put into execution, but the Prince's tenure had become a precarious one, and from thenceforward he could only feel himself

[1] *Reg. Ang.*, No. 143, 1304 F, fol. 24. The rescript reverting to the decision of 1301 was published by Buchon in his *Nouv. Rec. Hist.*, vol. ii. Pt. I. p. 339. But he appears to have made mistakes in transcription, as well as deliberate emendations, combined with a punctuation not always felicitous. I have therefore had a new transcription made of this important document, which will be found in Appendix I. Note 14.

Reg. Ang., No. 133, 1304 A, fol. 15, is a duplicate.

in the position of a vicar from the court of Naples, removable at pleasure.

Nor did the gallant St. Omer return to find peace at home. His wife Guglielma was at least ten years his senior. He had first conceived a hopeless passion for the fair Cephalonian when she was still the wife of Jean Chaudron, and on the latter's death he had loyally married the object of his lawless love. As years went by and Guglielma began to doubt the power of her waning beauty to retain her young husband's affection, her jealousy made his life intolerable. The marshal endeavoured by all fair means to humour his unreasonable lady, but when gentle words and courteous manners proved of no avail, and every absence from home, even when duty summoned, was attributed to motives of gallantry, he at length assumed the part which he had so long been accused of playing, and paid marked attentions to her stepmother Madame Marguerite, the lady of Matagriffon, who was Guglielma's contemporary. Meanwhile he devoted himself to the chase, paying brief visits at rare intervals to Rhoviata, where he had established his wife in a sort of honourable captivity in charge of ten esquires, with two chaplains and a physician to complete her household.

So that winter passed and, with the returning spring of 1305, the Despina realised that Epirus was menaced by a renewal of invasion and the advent of a still larger contingent from the Morea to wipe out the humiliations of the last expedition. The Moreotes, accustomed to mountain warfare and familiar with the tactics of the Greeks, were in her eyes the more formidable enemies. Therefore, being well aware of their Prince's acquisitive character, she counted on

purchasing immunity by buying him off. A secret emissary was despatched with ten thousand gold hyperpers, six thousand of which were handed to Philip and four thousand to the marshal, as the price of their abstention from hostilities. Neither showed any hesitation in accepting the bribe. The only difficulty lay in finding an adequate excuse to plead at Naples when the summons should arrive. The marshal proposed to the Prince that he should assemble a parliament at Corinth for the discussion of urgent local affairs. If, he submitted, their orders should only reach them there, they would be able with good reason to reply that they were far away from their own particular fiefs, and having made no preparations for a campaign, could not at a moment's notice muster the necessary levies.

The barons were accordingly summoned to Corinth, and by the end of April the Dukes of Athens and Naxos, the Marquis of Bodonitza, the triarchs of Eubœa, and the Count of Cephalonia were all on their way to the isthmus. St. Omer begged the Prince to dispense with his company on the road. He had occasion, he asserted, to pay a visit to the lady of Matagriffon, with a view to contracting a loan, but as soon as he had concluded his business he would rejoin his lord at Corinth by the road through Polyphengo.[1] Count John learned with indignation that his brother-in-law had gone to Matagriffon, and despatched his younger brother William to Rhoviata. In the dead of night he presented himself at his sister's house, and carried her off to Clarenza, where a galley was waiting to convey her to Cephalonia.

[1] Polyphant in the chronicle. Polyphengo was the ancient Phlius through which the most direct route would lie from Matagriffon to Corinth.

The brothers announced their intention of escorting her to the parliament of Corinth, where St. Omer would be invited to make good any charge he might have to urge against his wife, or in default be proved to have behaved as ill became an honourable man. Meanwhile the news of the escape from Rhoviata was brought to Matagriffon, and St. Omer, swearing vengeance on the brothers for the insult they had offered him, hastened to Corinth, where he arrived before the Prince. From Thebes he summoned all his vassals to attend him in martial equipment, and ordered forage and provisions for a month to be made ready. The Prince arrived soon after, and with Count John and Maria Comnena his wife came Guglielma herself and her sister, the wife of the constable, Engelbert de Liederkerke. Here at this critical point in the story the sequence of the French chronicle is suddenly interrupted and several sheets are missing. It must, however, be assumed that Philip succeeded in effecting a semblance of reconciliation between the marshal and the Cephalonian faction, for great festivities ensued and a tournament of open challenge, in which a thousand knights took part, was proclaimed, to last for twenty days.

It appears from the mutilated text of the manuscript that seven knights, who had been on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, arrived during the parliament, and being desirous of achieving fame in this new field and finding service in Morea, they issued a challenge to all comers, and proclamation was duly made that seven knights from beyond the sea would encounter any knight who was willing to meet them on horseback. Among the seven, whom the Prince had caused to be furnished with green harness and devices of scallop-

shells in token of their quality, was a certain Guillaume Bouchart, who was reputed to be one of the best jousters of the west. Nothing would satisfy the young Duke of Athens but to pit himself against this champion. The chronicler, who must have become acquainted with such details from personal observation, relates that Guiot was protected by a thick padding underneath his armour, because the conditions of battle were very severe, and a charge of horse against horse was sanctioned. Bouchart, however, refused to follow his example, and wore only the ordinary equipment of the tourney. It was his intention to have spared his adversary, because of the Duke's high rank and comparative inexperience. But the eager youth bore down upon him with such impetuosity that he was perforce compelled to sustain the attack, and in the shock of their encounter the steel headpiece of his horse struck and penetrated the chest-plates of the Duke's charger, which was thrown dying to the ground. Guiot, however, did not attempt to disengage himself, and maintained his seat in the tourney saddle, until the umpires had satisfied themselves that he had not been unhorsed. This feat of gallantry aroused such enthusiasm that a host of stalwart arms hoisted up dead horse and living rider, and so carried the young Duke in triumph round the lists. St. Omer failed to induce his old enemy John of Cephalonia to break a lance with him, and when his challenge was met with the pretext that the Count's charger was unsound and could not be ridden, retired to his pavilion in disgust. Bouchart, however, got hold of the horse, and put it through its paces in the lists, crying out to the spectators, "This is the mount which is not fit for jousting!" and Jean de

Nivelet, who had announced the lame excuse, lost caste in that chivalrous assembly. The French chronicle, which carries the history of the Morea some fourteen years further than the existing Greek versions, comes suddenly to a conclusion in the middle of the story of the great tournament of Corinth, and the end is evidently missing.[1]

The relations between Philip of Savoy and the house of Anjou had gone from bad to worse. Negotiations regarding his investiture and the homage due to Philip of Tarentum, as overlord, had led to no result, and his evasion of his obligations to prosecute the war in Epirus was by feudal standards accounted felony. The Angevines were now menacing his Piedmontese possessions from the neighbouring borders of Provence, and so he decided in November 1305 to sail for Italy, accompanied by Isabella, leaving St. Omer, whom he perceived to have more authority than himself, as bailie in the Morea. Isabella never returned again to the land which her father had acquired. Mahaulte Villehardouin, who now with her twelfth year attained her majority, remained with her husband in Thebes, but the infant Margaret of Savoy accompanied her mother to Piedmont. By an investiture made by Philip in 1303, and confirmed by him before the chief barons of the principality in the following year, she had been granted the captanate of Carytena and Bucelet as her inheritance.[2] Margaret also appears never to have returned to Achaia, and she left no issue by her husband Rainald de Forez, lord of Malleval.

In June 1306 Charles II. finally extinguished the

[1] The Aragonese chronicle, compiled by order of Heredia, continues the story through three-quarters of the fourteenth century.

[2] The document is preserved in the archives at Turin. (Guichenon, *Savoie*, iv. pp. 110, 111.)

claims of Philip and Isabella by the issue of the rescript to which allusion has already been made,[1] confirming the possession of Achaia to his own son. The Frankish barons were at the same time absolved from the consequences of breaking the oath of fealty to the deposed Prince. In the same month Philip of Tarentum, who had fitted out a fleet with the assistance of Florentine bankers for one more effort to make good his claims in Epirus, came to the Morea and received the homage of the barons. Nevertheless the claims of Isabella Villehardouin to her father's principality and personal estates could not be altogether overlooked, and Charles II., anxious above all to make definite provision for the future of his favourite son, proposed to liquidate them by a concession of lands in his Italian dominions. An agreement was concluded in May 1307,[2] by which Philip and Isabella resigned all further claims in Achaia, and received in exchange the countship of Alba, on the lake of Fucino, and other lands in the Abruzzi. Inasmuch, however, as Alba had already been bestowed as an appanage for life on the wife of Philip of Tarentum, Charles pledged himself to pay 600 ounces of gold annually to the dispossessed Prince as long as his daughter-in-law survived. Alba was soon afterwards raised to a principality.[3] Margaret of Savoy was compensated for the loss of the castles and fiefs which had been assigned to her in Achaia, by lands in the neighbourhood of Alba, and a yearly revenue of 200 ounces of gold.

[1] *Reg. Ang.*, 147, fol. 41, 1306.

[2] Datta, *Principi di Savoia*, vol. ii. Pt. I. No. 18, signed at Govon in Provence.

[3] Rescript of 1308. In this document Philip of Savoy is no longer referred to as Prince of Achaia, but he himself retained the title, and is so styled in subsequent treaties to which Naples was not a party.

In the archives of Mons are preserved the documents in which Isabella announced to the kinsman of her first husband her renunciation of any further claims in the Morea,[1] a renunciation which it would seem from the terms of her will she regarded as political and only personal to herself. Permission had been accorded her to reside in Naples, but she rather chose to withdraw from a scene which can have had few pleasant associations for her, to the Low Countries, where she did homage to Count William of Hainault for the fiefs of Estruen, and busied herself with her daughter's estates. The Duchess of Athens, after she became a widow in 1308, confirmed a cession which had been made by herself and Guy II. conjointly to her mother of power to administer these lands in Hainault, and also granted her for life the usufruct of the original Villehardouin fief of Calamata. The remainder of Isabella's life of strange vicissitude was passed in the unfamiliar north, not, we may surmise, without a wistful longing for the sunny land of her birth, which her father had won by the sword of conquest and the grasping Angevine had taken from her. In 1311, in spite of her formal renunciation, she made a will constituting her eldest daughter Mahaulte her universal heiress in Morea, but reserving Carytena, Beauvoir, and Beauregard as a dowry for her younger daughter Margaret of Savoy, and soon afterwards she died, barely fifty years of age, apparently at the court of William of Hainault. Philip of Savoy in the following year took another

[1] This document and others illustrating the last years of Isabella's life will be found summarised in *Droits primitifs des anciennes terres et seigneuries du pays et Comité de Haynaut*, by the Comte de St. Genois (Paris, 1782), continued in *Monuments Anciens*.

wife, Catherine, Dauphine of Viennois,[1] and he and his numerous descendants continued to bear the empty name of Princes of Achaia.

The results to Philip of Tarentum of the new expedition to Epirus were an estrangement with his wife and serious pecuniary entanglements with the Bardi of Florence. The Despina had secured the support of the Greek Emperor, and an epidemic broke out among the Neapolitan troops which compelled Philip to come to terms with his mother and brother-in-law.[2] Some brief attention was then directed to the affairs of Achaia, where he remained *de facto* Prince from 1307 to 1313. One of his first acts of authority was to transfer the bailieship from St. Omer to the Duke of Athens, who as the husband of Mahaulte Villehardouin would be more readily accepted as a ruler than the hereditary marshal by his opponents of the Cephalonian faction. How far this appointment may at the same time have been intended as a temporary satisfaction to the Duke in view of a refusal on the part of Philip to entertain a claim put forward by Mahaulte to the principality itself after her mother's renunciation will be discussed in the following chapter. Guiot, however, died in 1308, in the flower of his age, leaving the fifteen-year-old Duchess a widow in Thebes, under the protection of his friend Bonifazio da Verona, lord of Carystos, whom he designated to act as bailie until such time as Gautier de Brienne,[3] the son of his aunt Isabella de la Roche, should come to claim his

[1] Guichenon, *Savoie*, iv. p. 106.

[2] "Tunc voluit intrare principatum despoti, sed epidemia inpedivit eum." *Ptolemæi Lucensis Hista. Eccla.* (Muratori.)

[3] Gautier de Brienne was not only first cousin to Guy II. but also became his stepbrother, inasmuch as Hugues de Brienne, Gautier's father, had, after the death of Isabella de la Roche-Bruyères his first wife, married Helena Angela Dukas, mother of Guy and widow of Guillaume de la Roche.

inheritance. Bertino Visconti was then sent to Achaia as Philip's vicar. In the following year, on the death of Charles II. and the accession of Robert the Wise, Bertino returned to Italy and was succeeded by Tomaso di Marzano, who was financed by a further loan from the Florentine Bardi.[1] Philip himself never resided permanently in the Morea, which now relapsed into the condition of a mere dependency of Naples.

The position which had been forced on the house of Villehardouin by Charles of Anjou, confirmed by his heir in his treatment of the second generation, appears to have caused some misgivings to his less unscrupulous descendants. In spite of all the devices by which the title to Achaia had been secured to the Angevine dynasty, some doubt would appear to have been entertained whether a flaw might not be found in it, some dread lest perhaps an appeal to the high court of chivalry in France, or the feudal conscience of the age, might gain support for the claims of the disinherited great-granddaughter of the original conqueror, which it is probable had been asserted by the Duke of Athens on behalf of his wife. For Philip at one time contemplated the final incorporation in his own family of all existing claims by arranging a marriage between the young widow and his eldest surviving son Charles, the child of Ithamar, from whom, on the plea of her misconduct during his absence from Naples, he now became permanently

[1] *Reg. Ang.*, No. 184 (1309 A), fol. 265, v. 268. Hopf, in the list of the bailies of Morea published in his *Chroniques Gréco-Romanes*, gives T. di Marzano as bailie from 1309 to 1313. It appears from the will of Gautier de Brienne that in the beginning of 1311 the bailie whom he recognised was Gille de la Planche. A possible explanation of the coexistence of two bailies at the same time will be found in the next chapter.

separated.[1] The solemn ceremony of betrothal was celebrated at Thebes, but the actual marriage never took place. The death of Ithamar, who seems to have retired into the obscurity of a convent, must have taken place not long after her repudiation,[2] and Philip, who had by no means renounced his pretensions to his wife's unrealisable dower in Epirus, had now full liberty to indulge his ambition by himself contracting another dynastic alliance, which would concentrate in his person all the potential claims of the Franks to the eastern empire. To compass this ambition he successfully intrigued to bring about one of the most remarkable combinations recorded in history, involving not less than four marriages, and two transfers of betrothed brides to other husbands.[3]

One only daughter, who bore her mother's name, had been born of the second marriage of Charles of Valois with Catherine de Courtenay, the titular Empress, who died in 1308. Catherine de Valois, who then became the heiress of the Frankish title, was in her early childhood betrothed to Hugh V., Duke of Burgundy. Such betrothals, sanctioned by the Church, were held to be solemn contracts which only the dispensation of the Church could set aside. The Prince of Tarentum was not in a very favourable

[1] "Eodem anno (MCCCX) orta est turbatio in domo regis Caroli, ex adulterio imposito uxori domini Philippi Principis Tarentini, quæ fuit filia Despoti; propter quam causam Comes Camerarius, qui tempore Regis fuerat dominus in regno, est proscriptus et multi cum ipso" (*Ptolemæi Lucensis Hista. Eccla. Clemens V.*). The Camerarius was Bartolommeo Siginulfo, Count of Caserta, who denied the accusation and demanded an investigation. He did not, however, appear before a tribunal appointed to examine into this charge as well as into another of having plotted the assassination of Philip, and was in December 1310 banished from the realm by King Robert.

[2] No public record of the date of her death is extant.

[3] See the documents published by Du Cange, ii. pp. 357–360.

situation for negotiating directly with the curia, having fallen under the interdict for killing a Benedictine friar whom he suspected of similar designs against himself. Influences were, however, brought to bear upon Catherine, and arguments were put into the mouth of this child of eleven years, which she could never have initiated herself, in order to make out a case for the dissolution of the engagement. The consent of Hugh was readily obtained and, in view of the consideration promised, his own secure position in Burgundy seemed vastly preferable to the obligation to fight for a problematical throne on the Bosphorus. A new bride was, moreover, provided for him by King Philippe le Bel, the daughter of his second son Philippe le Long. The Prince of Tarentum, having secured for himself the reversion of the hand of Catherine, which Hugh renounced in a formal contract in 1313, then made over all his rights in the principality of Achaia to the Duke's younger brother, Louis of Burgundy, who was to marry Mahaulte of Hainault, the widowed Duchess of Athens, released with this object from her engagement to Charles of Tarentum. Philip reserved the homage due to himself as overlord and stipulated for a renewal of the obligation, which had originally been imposed on Isabella Villehardouin, making his consent an indispensable condition of any subsequent remarriage of Mahaulte, should she once more become a widow. The future Prince of Achaia was pledged to furnish material support for the reconquest of the empire, by providing a contingent of two hundred knights. If no heirs were born to the marriage Achaia was to revert to the house of Burgundy. The French King, who was regarded as the fountain-head of chivalry by the Franks of Romania, exercised a

controlling influence over these negotiations and endeavoured to curb the insatiable appetite of the Angevines. In the document in which he accorded his sanction to the new dignities of Louis of Burgundy, Philippe le Bel insisted on a special clause providing that, should Louis die before his wife and leave no heir, Mahaulte should at any rate retain the principality of Achaia for her own lifetime. To this stipulation Philip of Tarentum signified his agreement and pledged himself to obtain the approval of his brother Robert, under penalty of a fine of 40,000 livres if unsuccessful. Louis also received from his brother a wedding gift in the form of the transfer to himself of the titular rights to the kingdom of Thessalonica, which Baldwin II. had pawned to the house of Burgundy. The Duke's sister Jeanne was, on her marriage with Philip of Valois, a son of Charles by his first wife, to receive from Catherine the reversion of Courtenay and the other lands she had inherited from her mother. Another Jeanne, the sister of Philip of Valois and half-sister of Catherine, was to become the bride of the young Charles of Tarentum, who had had to renounce the hand of Mahaulte. A number of arrangements affecting the ultimate disposal of the empire *in partibus* between the heirs of Philip and Catherine were included in the bargain and discussed as seriously as though they concerned realisable assets. Since, however, the territories to be partitioned remained in the category of castles in Spain, it is unnecessary to burden the text with the details of their distribution.

To us, with our knowledge of subsequent events, the energy, ingenuity, and persistency displayed by the Angevines, and by Philip of Tarentum in par-

ticular, in order to concentrate in his own person all the existing claims of the westerns to the titular throne of Constantinople, may present somewhat of an enigma. But to the strenuous man of action nurtured under the immediate influence of Rome, the possible reconquest of the eastern throne was in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries no shadowy dream. The idea which had predominated the preceding epoch of two supreme institutions, one temporal the other spiritual, the Papacy and the Empire, co-existing for the governance of mankind, still exerted their influence. The Holy Roman Empire had practically expired as a world-power with the Hohenstaufens. In the discord of the two forces the Church had triumphed. But the principles which underlay the imperial theory were not dead, and if Rome was the seat of the Papacy, the legitimate traditional seat of the Empire was in Byzantium. The Angevine dynasty, imported into southern Italy by the Popes, became their secular and executive arm, and the re-establishment of the empire in its immemorial place, as the temporal complement to the spiritual system of the curia, seemed a natural solution of the idea which had for so long exercised a potent fascination over the minds of men. The Franks had occupied that throne, if only for a term of fifty years, and the Roman Church had extended its authority, nominally at any rate, over the Balkan peninsula. To a firm believer in the ultimate triumph of the Church it was inconceivable that the ground once gained had been more than temporarily lost, and the ideal of the restoration of the Latin empire through the Latin Church was a vital and practical moving force. Nor in view of the ease with which the conquest of the

east had been effected by the crusaders, and the weakness of the Greeks after their restoration, could this ideal have seemed particularly difficult to realise.

During the course of the complicated negotiations in France, Catherine of Valois had completed her twelfth year, and with it attained her majority. Her marriage was celebrated at Fontainebleau on the 13th of July 1313, and thenceforth Philip of Tarentum was entitled to consider himself the legitimate Frankish pretender to the throne of Constantinople. The marriage of Mahaulte of Hainault apparently took place about the same time, and in the same year Louis of Burgundy took the oath of fealty to Philip and assumed the title of Prince of Achaia. After some not unnatural delay he proceeded to Venice and completed his preparations for the journey. It was not, however, till the spring of 1316 that he actually started for his new principality. The prospect before him, in view of the internal developments in the Morea, was not particularly inviting, and in the meantime, during the administration of Philip's bailie, a catastrophe had occurred which led to the annihilation of the old feudal nobility of Romania and dealt the Frankish prestige a blow from which it never recovered. To make the occasion of this disaster clear, it will be necessary to revert for a while to the contemporary history of Athens and Eubœa, and to trace the rise and progress of the redoubtable Catalan adventurers whose arrival on the scene marks the real close of the age of chivalry in Greece.

CHAPTER X

THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF THE CATALAN COMPANY

THE Catalan Company was the creation of Roger de Flor, one of the most remarkable adventurers of this or any age. Our knowledge of his extraordinary career is chiefly derived from the contemporary chronicle of Ramon Muntaner,[1] who claims for him all the virtues of the ideal leader. The gifted soldier-author is as a rule careful about facts and truthful in the main, with a bias venial in one of that band of buccaneers, to whose credit he has set it down that they assigned the glory of their lawless exploits to God, while in their mutual relations they respected the principle which even thieves have proverbially found it their interest to observe. Giovanni Villani on the other hand, to quote a less interested authority, has described him as both cruel and dissolute.

The name of Roger de Flor has gained an additional savour of romance by translation from its Teutonic original into the language of the south.[2] His

[1] The *Expedicion de Catalanes y Aragoneses al Oriente* of Moncada was drawn chiefly from this original source. Among the Byzantines Pachymer deals with Roger's brilliant and brief career.

[2] I have adopted the Spanish form of his name, as he is chiefly associated with Catalans and Aragonese. He was himself half German and half Italian, and was known in the latter country as Ruggiero del Fior. G. Villani calls him Frate Ruggieri de' Tempieri. (Bk. VIII. ch. l.)

father, Richard Blume, a favourite falconer of the Emperor Frederick II., married the daughter of a notable of Brindisi, where he settled and lived in tolerable affluence. When southern Italy was startled by the news that the boy Conradin was descending the Alps to reconquer the inheritance of the house of Suabia, he took up arms in the cause of his old patron's grandchild, and met an honourable death on the disastrous field of Tagliacozzo, leaving a widow with two little sons of whom the younger, Roger, was then only in his third year. The confiscations which overtook all the partisans of the Hohenstaufens reduced the family to poverty, and the boy grew up among the sailor-folk who frequented the Apulian port, then one of the busiest in the world. He was about eight years old when a fighting ship of the knights of the Temple, commanded by brother Vassal, a native of Marseilles, put in to Brindisi to winter there. This lay Templar took a great liking to the little lad, who was all day long climbing in and out of his vessel, laid up near the widow's house, and he persuaded her to confide her son to his care to learn an apprenticeship at sea.

By the time Roger reached the age of twenty he was a past master of navigation both in theory and practice, and his abilities were recognised by the Grand Master of the Temple, who bestowed on him the cloak of the order and appointed him to command the *Falcon*, a vessel reputed to be the largest then afloat, which the knights had purchased from Genoa. The young captain, who was open-handed and had a facile charm of manner, made friends at all the ports he touched. But after the fall of Acre, where he grew rich by the transport of wealthy refugees, he was accused before the Grand Master not only of having retained a portion

of the treasure brought away from Palestine, but even of deliberate acts of piracy. Believing his life to be in danger and having probably none too clear a conscience, he abandoned the *Falcon* at Marseilles and went to Genoa, where friends assisted him to equip a galley on his own account. Sailing for Catania in Sicily, he offered his services to Robert of Calabria, the son of Charles II. of Naples, who had made that port his headquarters from which to prosecute the war with Frederick II. of Sicily. Robert either declined or ignored the offer of the renegade Templar, as a faithful partisan of the Church was indeed bound to do, and so the *Olivette* set her course for Messina, where the son of Richard Blume was received with open arms by the grandson of Manfred, who had recommenced the struggle which his brother James had renounced in order to recover his ancestral throne in Aragon. Armed with Frederick's commission, he soon became a thorn in the side of his rivals, and by a series of brilliant exploits on the Calabrian and Apulian coasts, was not only able to revictual the Sicilian garrisons and replenish his master's treasury, but also to equip a powerful squadron of galleys and enlist a band of Catalan and Aragonese adventurers for the service of the grateful prince, who loaded him with honours and appointed him vice-admiral of Sicily. Among the first to join a troop of horsemen raised by him was Muntaner, the chronicler of the wars of Aragon and Romania, and he became the acknowledged leader of a group of adventurous nobles from the court of Frederick, which included Berengar d'Entenza, Guillen Gallerno, and Blasco d'Alagona. His next great exploit was to conduct his galleys in the teeth of a storm through the troubled waters of Scylla and

Charybdis into the beleaguered Messina and force the Duke of Calabria to raise the siege. With this episode and the miserable failure of Charles of Valois, who led a last great expedition equipped with all the resources of the Church, the twenty years' struggle between the houses of Anjou in Naples and Aragon in Sicily came to an end. Charles II. had no instinctive love of war, and was disposed to lend a favourable ear to the intercession of his daughter Blanche, the wife of King James II. of Aragon. Frederick, who now held him completely in his power, met Charles of Valois in the Duke of Calabria's tent at Calatabelotta, embraced him and swore eternal friendship. By the peace there contracted in 1302 Frederick was recognised as King of Sicily for life, under a promise that on his death it should revert to the reigning Angevine sovereign at Naples,[1] and he received the hand of Leonora, the daughter of Charles II., who pledged himself to obtain the rescission of the interdict which had been laid upon the island. Frederick undertook to restore all the fortresses he had gained north of the straits, and released Philip of Tarentum, who had been his prisoner since the disastrous battle of Falconara in 1299. Boniface VIII. was not induced without considerable difficulty to give his sanction to the treaty, and by repealing the ban to enable the marriage to be celebrated in the cathedral at Messina. The rivalry between the French and the Aragonese, which had for so long distracted southern Italy, was now to be transferred to Romania with not less far-reaching effect.

[1] This stipulation was not recognised by the Sicilian Parliament and was hereafter completely ignored, as was also a further stipulation intended to soothe Angevine dignity that Frederick should be styled King of Trinacria. In the letters of Pope John XXII. Charles and Robert are "Reges Sicilie," while Frederick is "Rex Trinacrie."

No man, says Muntaner, was so shrewd as Roger in forecasting the probable trend of events. The long war in Sicily had attracted thither a great army of mercenaries, of Catalan horsemen, of experienced sailors, and of those redoubtable Spanish infantry soldiers, known as Almogavars,[1] adventurers whose subsistence depended less on their pay than on the opportunities which a state of war afforded them for plunder. In time of peace such an assemblage of unruly swashbucklers menaced the tranquillity of the country in which they were stranded. Roger perceived that with the peace of Calatabelotta the advantages of his career as vice-admiral of Sicily were at an end. The reconciliation of Frederick with Rome might even raise the question of his surrender to the Grand Master of the Temple, and he realised it was time to seek a new scene of action. He accordingly submitted to the King his plan for ridding the island of the dangerous Catalan element. He had been able while in Frederick's service, as the enemy of the house of Anjou, to be of use on more than one occasion to Greek ships of war. He proposed to remind Andronicus of these and earlier friendly acts, and to offer his sword to the empire, which was now menaced by the growing power of the Turks in Asia Minor, taking with him as many of the mercenary troops as were ready to share his fortunes. For himself he claimed the dignity of a megaduke of the empire, and the hand in marriage of one of the princesses of the imperial family; for his

[1] The origin of this name is uncertain. Its form points to an Arabic etymology. Moncada discusses the question whether the name was originally applied to a race or to a class of soldiery, and decides that it was a national appellation. In support of this view he refers to Pachymer, who classified the Almogavars as descendants of the Avars, and considers that eventually the name came to be applied to all who served in the infantry which had first been recruited from these Almogavars. (Moncada, *op. cit.*, ch. vii.)

followers he stipulated that every horseman should receive four ounces of gold a month, every foot soldier one ounce, and that pay for four months in advance should be remitted to Monemvasia, where the company would touch on their passage east. These terms were accepted with alacrity by Andronicus, who was almost without serviceable troops for the defence of his frontiers.[1] He promised him the hand of his niece Maria, conferred on him the coveted title, and sent him the imperial banner. Some 5000 Almogavars and half as many horsemen eventually joined the expedition.[2] Roger de Flor was the recognised leader, but only a portion of these troops were his own immediate adherents. Other chiefs brought their own contingents, and not the least in this noble company of adventurers was Ramon Muntaner himself.

Frederick parted with his successful admiral like a generous prince. He presented him with two galleys and two transports, which, added to eight galleys already in his possession and other vessels which Roger had bought or captured, made his fleet a formidable one. He also furnished him with money and victual for the journey, biscuit, cheese, salt pork and onions. In all thirty-six sail assembled at Messina to embark the adventurers, and in September 1302 the advance guard appeared in the Bosphorus, under the command of En[3] Fernand Ximenes d'Arenos, who led a contingent of his own. Two of Roger's old companions in arms, who had agreed to join the expedition,

[1] On the Greeks, says Pachymer, little reliance could now be placed; they were scattered through the west accepting servitude as a means of subsistence. (Bk. V. ii.)

[2] In the text Muntaner speaks of 1500 horsemen. In the title of the chapter in which the passage occurs (201) he speaks of 2500.

[3] The Catalan *En* corresponds to *Don*.

were to follow at an early date, the noble En Berengar d'Entenza as soon as he had completed his contingent, and Berengar de Roccaforte, a soldier of fortune of humble origin, but able, shrewd and very ambitious, as soon as he had arranged with Naples respecting the surrender of certain castles in Calabria, which should in accordance with the terms of peace have been handed over, but which he claimed to hold as a guarantee for arrears of pay, due from the King of Sicily.

The marriage of Roger with the daughter of Irene Palæologa, the wife of the Bulgarian king, was celebrated without loss of time, and the sixteen-year-old bride, who before his arrival must have contemplated the alliance with some misgivings, is said to have become passionately attached to the magnificent adventurer, whose power of personal fascination was not less than his tireless energy and resource in action. The reluctant testimony of a Byzantine historian[1] may be quoted in evidence of his qualities both of heart and intelligence. But the wedding festivities were disturbed by a quarrel which broke out between the Catalans and the Genoese, at this time the most numerous and influential foreign community in Constantinople, established in the suburbs of Pera and Galata. The leaders of the company were obliged to ride into the mêlée with their battleaxes to restrain their lawless troopers, who, after an indiscriminate slaughter of Genoese, were advancing on the commercial quarter. The Emperor had perhaps not been altogether displeased to see the haughty Ligurian colony humiliated, but the pillage of their banking-houses would have spelled disaster. He therefore lost

[1] Pachymer.

no time in speeding the riotous adventurers to draw their swords against the Turks. The Genoese controlled the maritime resources of the empire, and as their enmity had been incurred by this episode, Roger perceived the necessity of providing for the safety of his galleys and transports and of having an adequate fleet at his own disposal. He therefore induced the Emperor to confer the office of admiral on the Catalan En Fernand d'Aunes, who also obtained the hand of a Greek princess. Six weeks after his arrival he left his young bride in Constantinople, and landing at Artaki[1] immediately inflicted a signal defeat on the Turks.

This important victory, not unjustly held by Greek historians to have stayed the tide of invasion which menaced the very existence of the empire, only excited the jealousy and suspicion of the Byzantine administration, and in particular of Michael, the son of Andronicus, who was indignant that the uncouth Catalans should have succeeded where himself had failed. The season was too far advanced for further operations and the army went into winter quarters at Artaki, whither the young megaduchess came accompanied by her mother and an illegitimate daughter of Roger by a Cypriote lady, whom he had without shocking the spirit of contemporary ethics confided to their care. Muntaner describes in detail how the billeting and victualling of the men during the winter was entrusted to a joint-commission of six notables of the country and six representatives of the army, with a view to making equitable arrangements for the Catalans and preventing injustice to the local population. At the end of the winter the troopers had lived

[1] Kyzikos.

so well and found such good entertainment among the Greeks, whom Byzantine historians represent as groaning under their exactions, that many of them had spent a whole year's pay in anticipation. Roger, who had escorted his wife and mother-in-law back to Constantinople, now proposed to take the field again, and assembling his forces caused all the notes of account, made out in duplicate, to be collected for revision. The bills of the Greeks were forwarded to his treasury for liquidation, and the liabilities of the Catalans were generously assumed by their leader, who not only made them a free gift of all they had spent in winter quarters, but issued another advance of four months' pay. During their stay at Artaki a breach between Roger and Fernand Ximenes led to the withdrawal of the latter. He took ship with his detachment for Athens and offered his services to Guy II. de la Roche, who welcomed him, having need of additional troops to guard the extended frontier which he had acquired by his regency in Thessaly. This diminution of strength was, however, balanced by the arrival of 200 horsemen and 1000 foot, the contingent of Berengar de Roccaforte, who was created seneschal of the army and affianced to Roger's illegitimate daughter.

Before he again took up his winter quarters Roger had compelled the Turks to raise the siege of Philadelphia, and by a series of successful cavalcades had liberated a great part of Anatolia from the invaders, while in the meantime the galleys under Fernand d'Aunes had raided the coastwise islands, not sparing the Venetian settlements. The following year, 1304, witnessed less military activity, and it is possible that there was less disposition to treat the

local populations equitably, for the exactions of the Catalans were represented at the capital as being merciless and intolerable. A suspicion gradually grew to a conviction there, that the megaduke was aiming at the creation of a subject state in Asia Minor, over which he might rule himself as a vassal of the Emperor. A fresh revolt of the Bulgarians, who were raiding the narrow confines of the empire in Europe, afforded an opportune pretext for the recall of the Catalans to co-operate with Michael Palæologus, and at the end of the year the host was conveyed back across the Dardanelles and established in headquarters at Gallipoli. Roger proceeded to Constantinople and pressed for further advances, which Andronicus endeavoured to meet by an issue of debased coinage. The tension which consequently arose between the harassed sovereign and the formidable captain of adventure, of whom he was genuinely afraid, had not been diminished by the arrival of En Berengar d'Entenza with a further band of 300 knights and 1000 Almogavars. Andronicus complained that he had never contracted to engage so large a number of men and, while outwardly continuing to bestow marks of favour on Roger, he secretly endeavoured to sow the seeds of rivalry between him and Berengar d'Entenza. Such endeavours were disarmed by Roger's declaration that he was ready to surrender the title of megaduke to his friend, whose oath of fidelity to the Emperor had been qualified by the reservation of his allegiance to Frederick of Sicily as his legitimate sovereign. Roger himself received the proud title of Cæsar of the empire, and Berengar, in whose loyalty to his fellow-adventurer the Byzantine historians found it impossible to believe, joined

him at Gallipoli, where the Catalans were busy entrenching their camp. Their return to the European side had sufficed to frighten the Bulgarians into submission. But in the meantime the Turks were recovering their lost ground in Asia. They once more attacked Philadelphia, and the Emperor found himself obliged to come to terms with his troublesome mercenaries. It was agreed that after the relief of Philadelphia military fiefs should be constituted in Asia for the soldiery, who would then cease to draw pay and perform feudal service for their tenure, forming a sort of buffer state between the empire and the barbarian. The cities, however, were to be exempted from their control. In the meantime four months' pay in advance was forthcoming, and Roger accepted the debased currency which he had hitherto declined to recognise. He refused, however, to consider the reduction of the force for which the Emperor had pressed.

Before leaving for Anatolia he determined, in response no doubt to a flattering invitation, to go to Adrianople and take leave of Michael Palæologus, in spite of the entreaties and warnings of his wife and mother-in-law, who feared treachery with only too good reason. Roger, however, laughed at their fears and, after despatching his wife, who three months later became the mother of a boy, to the capital, set out escorted by 1000 Almogavars and a small band of horsemen for Adrianople, in which fortress Michael had secretly assembled a force of some 9000 Alans and Turcomans. For a week Michael entertained him hospitably and then, on the eve of his departure, as he sat at supper at the Prince's table, a band of assassins, led by the Alan chieftain Gircon, invaded

the chamber and despatched him at the feet of his treacherous host. He was not yet forty years of age when the sailor lad of Brindisi who had become a Cæsar of the empire ended his fantastic and brilliant career, the victim of his own temerity in trusting in the good faith of his constant enemy. His men, who had been billeted about the town, were simultaneously hunted down and massacred.

Michael hurried off a force of Turcomans and Alans to Gallipoli to attack the Catalans before the news could become known there. The movement was a complete surprise. Nearly all the horses out at grass were destroyed or captured, as well as a great number of the unsuspecting troopers. Berengar d'Entenza retired with the rest into the fortress, where they defended themselves vigorously against their assailants. A few survivors from the massacre of Adrianople straggled in with the disastrous news, and the Catalans exacted terrible reprisals from all the Greeks who came within their reach. Leaving Muntaner and Berengar de Roccaforte in charge of the fortress, d'Entenza put to sea with five galleys and two armed transports and harried all the Byzantine seaboard. The Greeks had resolved as far as lay in their power to exterminate the Catalans. Fernand d'Aunes, the admiral, was assassinated at Constantinople by the Emperor's orders; all the troopers found in the capital were massacred, and the envoys sent by the captains at Gallipoli to reproach Andronicus with his breach of faith were, after their audience and in defiance of the safe-conduct accorded to them, put to death and mutilated at Rhedestos. A fresh disaster befell the company through the treachery of the Genoese, whose fleet of eight galleys met the

Catalan squadron returning laden with booty. The Genoese admiral gave Berengar d'Entenza a safe-conduct and invited him to sup on board the flag-ship. Once there he was disarmed and made a prisoner, his vessels were overmastered, and the galleys with their prizes sailed for Genoa. It was in vain when they appeared off Gallipoli that Muntaner endeavoured to effect his release by offering a ransom of a thousand hyperpers.

The little band of Gallipoli, reduced to some 1300 men, now formed a heroic resolution. The sea was still open to them, but to withdraw would have been in their eyes an eternal infamy. They therefore knocked the bottoms out of their remaining ships that none might be tempted to run away. Berengar de Roccaforte assumed the supreme military command, and Muntaner was appointed chancellor and general administrator[1] to the force. Dramatic preparations preluded their sortie against the overwhelming host of the besiegers. On the tower of the castle they hoisted the banner of St. Peter, and made three standards ready to carry into action, two bearing respectively the arms of Aragon and Sicily, and the third the effigy of St. George. They invoked the favour of Heaven on their desperate venture, and a seaman was found who could chant the canticle of the blessed St. Peter, which brought tears to the eyes of the hardened adventurers. Then all kneeling down they sang the Salve Regina. The June sky was clear, but as they sang a cloud passed overhead and a gentle rain fell upon them, ceasing with the last notes of the chorus, an omen which filled their hearts with joy. At even every man confessed him-

[1] Mestre-racional.

self, and at day-dawn communicated. It was a Saturday morning, twenty-two days before the feast of St. Peter, when they marched out to battle. There was no van, nor centre, nor reserve, but the Almogavars were on the right, the remnant of the horsemen on the left. The enemy had their camp on a height some two miles distant, whence their first battle issued to dispute the advance of the Catalans. Both sides attacked with vigour, but the Emperor's troops were rolled back to the hill where their main body was massed, and, with shouts of "St. George and Aragon," the Spaniards pressed their victory home, and went through the broken and flying mass, slaying till they grew weary. As is usual in the accounts of battles at this time, the number of the killed recorded by Muntaner is evidently fantastic. Three only of the Catalans were found missing, while the losses of the enemy, many of whom were drowned while trying to escape in the boats of the local fishermen, are set down at 26,000. The booty secured was enormous: it took eight days to apportion the spoils of the camp, and 3000 captured horses more than made good their original losses. Another army was nevertheless brought up, this time by Michael Palæologus in person, and once more the Catalans, leaving only a hundred men to protect their women and children in the fortress, boldly took the offensive. The same order of battle was observed, with the same result. The Alans in the Byzantine van were routed and flung back in hopeless confusion on the centre, while a number of their Turkish mercenaries deserted to the enemy. Michael, who fought bravely, was himself wounded in the face by the gallant sailor who had chanted the canticle of St. Peter, and he was severely repri-

manded by his august father for having in his own sacred person exposed the dignity of the empire to the perils of war. Once more an immense booty fell into the hands of the Catalans, who were now effectually masters of the country. So great was the terror which their name inspired, that their horsemen rode unmolested and almost single-handed up to the very outskirts of Constantinople in the pursuit of a highly profitable brigandage. Rhedestos, where the Catalan envoys had been murdered, was subjected to a terrible reprisal, as a warning that such breaches of faith would not meet with impunity. Every inhabitant, without regard to age or sex, was put to death, and Roccaforte made the empty city his headquarters. Fernan Ximenes soon afterwards returned with eighty men from the duchy of Athens, and, leading a second division to Madytos, took and occupied the fortress after an eight months' siege. Muntaner remained in charge of Gallipoli. From these three points they raided and scoured the surrounding country.

It still remained to exact vengeance from the Alan tribesmen and their chief Gircon for the murder of Roger de Flor. This entailed a twelve days' march inland, and the lot fell upon Muntaner to remain behind in charge of the headquarters, at which all the women and children had been collected, with only seven armoured knights of his own personal household and 130 seamen and Almogavars. The Alans, some 10,000 strong, were most effectually surprised in their camp, only about a tenth of their number being under arms when the onslaught was made. Having their women and children with them, after the manner of the Tartars, they bravely stood their ground. Their chief Gircon fell and was

decapitated. Encumbered with their families they could neither retreat nor manœuvre, and barely three hundred are said to have escaped from the field. The women and children were either killed by their husbands and fathers before they met death themselves, or became the spoils of the victors. Meanwhile a Genoese squadron under Antonio Spinola, which was conveying to Italy the younger son of the Emperor as successor to the marquisate of Montferrat, attacked the little garrison at Gallipoli. Muntaner called upon the women to take charge of the ramparts, and making a sortie with his handful of men, succeeded, although himself severely wounded in the first phase of the engagement, in driving their assailants back to the ships. Spinola himself was among the six hundred slain.

The company now received an important accession of strength by incorporating a band of Turkish deserters from the imperial army, to the number of 800 horse and 200 foot, under their emir Ximelek. They led a merry life, growing prosperous and rich at the expense of the unfortunate local proprietors. Themselves they neither sowed nor pressed the grape, but every man eat and drank of the best, requisitioning whatever his necessities suggested. Gallipoli remained their headquarters for some seven years, and it was not until the whole country round for a march of ten miles had been sucked dry that the question arose of moving their camp from the scene of their devastating operations. Meanwhile Berengar d'Entenza, ransomed from the Genoese by the King of Aragon, returned with five hundred men whose equipment he had provided by the sale of his paternal estates, and was recognised by Muntaner as his chief

and superior. Roccaforte however was not prepared to treat him as more than an equal. Ximenes and the Catalonian sailors ranged themselves on the side of Berengar d'Entenza, while the Almogavars and the Turks continued to regard Roccaforte as their leader. Thus, although there was no open breach thanks to the efforts of Muntaner, the company was divided into two partisan camps. King Frederick of Sicily whose banner the Catalans had adopted, and who still claimed their allegiance, attempted to reconcile the menacing schism by despatching to Gallipoli the Infant Ferdinand, son of the King of Majorca, to take over the supreme command of the company and enter into possession in his name of the towns and fortresses which they had occupied. He arrived with four armed galleys and was joyfully welcomed as captain by Berengar d'Entenza, Muntaner, and Ximenes. Roccaforte on the other hand, who was absent conducting the siege of Nona, realised that the appointment of the Infant would deprive him of the advantages of his dominant position. He was well aware that the other leaders, who were all of noble blood, regarded him as an upstart adventurer, and that, having been the first to recognise Ferdinand, they would take the opportunity to undermine his position. He aimed at succeeding himself to the place of Roger de Flor, and it was consequently his object to get rid of the new comer by any available means. So before the Infant could arrive in the camp under Nona, Roccaforte had already privately arranged with the representatives of his companies what answer was to be returned him, when he caused the letters of Frederick of Sicily to be publicly read. It was to the effect that nothing was nearer to their

hearts than to accept Ferdinand as their chief; he was a Prince of the house of Aragon and the pattern of chivalry, and they would gladly do him homage, if he would accept the position on his own account, but they were not prepared to receive him as the representative of King Frederick, who after all their hard service in Sicily had dismissed them with a few loaves of bread as their only reward. Roccaforte himself knew that the Infant had pledged his word to Frederick, and, being the most loyal of princes, would only accept the leadership as the King's representative and vicar. His followers, moreover, far outnumbered the rest of the company. Ferdinand of Majorca on receiving their reply announced that under such conditions he could not remain, and must return to Sicily. He agreed, however, to march with the company until they had entered the territories of the kingdom of Thessalonica, whither they had now determined to transfer their sphere of operations. And so in a spirit of mutual mistrust, and not without profound misgivings, the captains took their dispositions to break up the camp at Gallipoli.

It was arranged that Muntaner, after levelling the defences at Gallipoli and Madytos, should embark all the sailors with the women and children in such vessels as were available and sail to Christopolis, while the men-at-arms marched overland. As a precautionary measure it was further agreed that Roccaforte with his own immediate following and the Turkish allies should start a day's journey in advance of the other bands who were to escort the Infant. When they were only two stages from Christopolis an unlucky chance led to a misunderstanding which had the gravest consequences. Muntaner himself has

no doubt whatever that it was the machinations of the Evil One, always on the look-out for his opportunity, which inspired a detachment of d'Entenza's troopers to break up their camp at an earlier hour than usual, so as to begin their march before the heat of the day, while Roccaforte's men for similar reasons lingered beyond the appointed time in pleasant quarters, where fresh water, fruit, and wine abounded. Thus it happened that the rearguard of the latter found themselves in touch with the advance guard of the former, and either party, excited by the quarrels of their leaders, believed that the other was about to attack. At the cry to arms, Roccaforte and his followers put on their harness in hot haste, but Berengar d'Entenza, perceiving the sudden tumult and ignoring the cause, leaped unarmed upon his horse and, with a hunting-spear in his hand, rode to the head of the host to prevent a panic and keep his men in hand. The brother and uncle of Roccaforte, believing him to be urging on his troopers to the attack, charged down upon d'Entenza, and running him through the body with their lances, killed him on the spot. Ximenes, who was following close behind, saw him fall and, being unarmed, turned his bridle and saved himself by flight. Then the encounter became general. Roccaforte's men and the Turks pressed on till they saw the Infant's banner. Ferdinand rode forward and strove to arrest the unnatural combat, and Roccaforte with his cavaliers formed a ring round the Prince to protect him from the Turks. With difficulty order was at length restored, but not until some six or seven hundred victims had been uselessly slain. The host then halted for three days to do honour to the gallant

Berengar d'Entenza, who was universally regretted. Fernan Ximenes had taken refuge in an imperial castle, and the Prince held him under the circumstances excused, when he declined to rejoin the company, fearing treachery from his mortal enemy Roccaforte, who had now prompted the rest of the army to subscribe to the decision which his own corps had adopted. The Infant, finding that all were now firmly persuaded not to acknowledge him, unless he would take over the leadership in his own name and not on account of King Frederick, took his leave of them with a good grace and embarked in his own galleys which had followed the line of march along the coast. In the neighbouring island of Thasos he fell in with the Catalan fleet on its way to Christopolis in charge of Muntaner, who now learned from the Infant what had taken place since they parted, and promised loyally to remain under his orders and accompany him to Sicily. But he craved and obtained permission first to carry out his commission and bring his convoy safely in, after which he would return to Thasos. Muntaner found the company about a day's march from Christopolis, and he at once obtained from Roccaforte a safe-conduct for all the men, women and children who belonged to the contingents of either Berengar d'Entenza or Ximenes to pass through the lines and rejoin the banner of the latter. To such among them as did not wish to remain he assigned vessels to carry them to Negripont. He called a general assembly of the army, and after reproaching his former comrades with their disloyalty, adjured them at least to stand honourably by Fernan Ximenes, who at a great sacrifice to his own interests had given up the

service of the Duke of Athens in order to return to the company. He then handed over the great seal and all the books and records. Many efforts were made to induce him to stay, and the Turks were most instant in their prayers that he would not desert them. But Muntaner, who was the most loyal of men, had given the Prince his word that he would return, and indeed there was little inducement for him to remain. So he took leave of them, and with three armed boats, and the handsome fortune he had accumulated in some five years' campaigning, he returned to Thasos. Ximenes never rejoined the Catalans. He offered his services to Andronicus, who accepted the offer, bestowed upon him the hand of a lady of the imperial house, and eventually appointed him Grand Admiral. The rest of the company, under Roccaforte's now undisputed leadership, lingered in the passes of Rhodope, living on the country and extending their raids over a considerable area. An attack on the city of Thessalonica was however energetically repulsed, and one at least of the wealthy monasteries in the holy peninsula of Athos defended itself with success. At length they established a new Gallipoli at Cassandria.

In Thasos the Infant and Muntaner were hospitably entertained by the Genoese Tedisio or Ticino Zaccaria, who had been enrolled on the company's lists under the following circumstances. In the latter days of the Catalan occupation at Gallipoli he had gone thither to crave their assistance in consummating an act of private vengeance by a raid on Phocæa. Under the auspices of the Emperor Michael Palæologus, with whom they were connected by marriage, the Genoese Zaccarias had founded a prosperous vassal state at

Phocæa, where they grew immensely rich by the development of the alum mines, of which the monopoly had been conceded to them. Ticino Zaccaria, who had secured a footing and a stronghold in the island of Thasos, was in 1306 appointed governor of Phocæa by his uncle Benedetto, the sovereign and chief of the family. But Benedetto died in the following year, and Palæologo Zaccaria, who succeeded, dismissed Ticino and appointed another relative in his cousin's place. With the assistance of a band of buccaneers placed at his disposal by Muntaner, who also supplied the necessary ships, Ticino took his revenge by raiding and devastating the flourishing city, returning with an immense booty, which was honourably divided, according to the code extolled by the chronicler, between the two partners in this iniquitous reprisal. Muntaner himself obtained possession by lot of a piece of the true cross, encased in gold and precious stones, which had once belonged to the Apostle St. John, while the dalmatic woven by the Virgin herself, in which the Evangelist performed the mass, and a copy of the Apocalypse written by his own hand in letters of gold, were the portion of his Genoese associate.

Zaccaria entertained his guests for some days with princely hospitality and engaged permanently for his own service a certain number of loyal Catalans, who consented to remain in Thasos. Then the Infant took his leave and sailed with Muntaner for Halmyros, where on his outward journey he had left behind four men to bake biscuit for the ships. As these were no longer to be found and could not be satisfactorily accounted for, no further excuse was needed for indulging the predatory instincts of the Catalans, and Halmyros was raided with fire and sword. Thence

they passed on to Scopelos, and without apparently any semblance of pretext laid the island waste. In spite of the wiser counsel of his followers, who realised that their most recent exploits might be called in question there, Ferdinand determined to touch at Negripont, where he had been well received on his voyage to Gallipoli. As ill luck would have it, there had just come in from the south ten Venetian galleys and an armed boat, the transport and escort of Thibaut de Sipoys, the presumptive admiral of a restored western empire, sailing on a mission from Charles of Valois, who as husband of the titular Empress Catherine de Courtenay still dreamed of reconquering the Byzantine throne, and was therefore anxious to enlist the services of the Catalan Company.

While the Infant and Muntaner were on shore contracting for a safe-conduct from the triarchs, whose waters were notorious for the immunity they offered to pirates, the Venetian galleys attacked the little Spanish flotilla. In the ensuing fight fourteen of the crew of Muntaner's vessel were killed and all the treasure he had amassed, which, as he naïvely says, amounted to no trifle, was carried off. He himself with En Garcia Gomez Palacin, another Catalan noble who had incurred the enmity of Roccaforte and had therefore abandoned the company, were arrested by order of Thibaut de Sipoys, who did not scruple also to lay hands on the person of the Prince of Majorca. The Infant was then placed in charge of Jean de Noyers, who was instructed to convey him to Thebes, where the Duke of Athens was requested to detain him at the pleasure of Charles of Valois. Muntaner and Garcia Gomez were sent back at the instance of the Eubœans as a propitiatory

offering to the Catalans at Cassandria, where it was anticipated they would receive short shrift, the former because it was supposed he had carried off the public funds of the company, and the latter because he was the personal enemy of Roccaforte. No question would then, it was hoped, be raised with regard to the plunder of Muntaner's vessel. These anticipations were only partially realised, for while on the one hand En Garcia Gomez was beheaded immediately on landing by the orders of Roccaforte, Muntaner was received with demonstrations of affection and loaded with gifts by both Catalans and Turks, and his old comrades made it a first condition of opening negotiations with Thibaut de Sipoys, that the property sequestrated in Negripont should be restored in full. Roccaforte, who had compromised himself irretrievably with Frederick of Sicily and the whole house of Aragon, perceived the advantage of coming to terms with Charles of Valois and, on the arrival of the Venetian squadron at Cassandria, the company took the oath of allegiance to his envoy. Muntaner resisted the entreaties of the Catalans, seconded by those of Thibaut himself, to remain with the company, and embarked on board the galley of Giovanni Quirini, who was returning to Negripont with the Venetian flotilla.

It was not long before Roccaforte, who felt himself to be master of the situation, began to treat the representative of Charles of Valois with as little ceremony as he had shown to the nominee of Frederick of Sicily. He had, according to Muntaner, conceived the ambition of reviving in his own favour the independence of the old kingdom of Thessalonica, where the Empress Irene still held her court, and

he had already had his own great seal engraved. He endeavoured also, and apparently with some prospect of success, to induce the Duke of Athens, in whom the seeds of a mortal disease were now developing with fatal rapidity, to bestow on him the hand of his half-sister Jeanette de Brienne. With this object he acknowledged himself the vassal of the Duke, who it was evident had not long to live. Gautier de Brienne, the heir, was far away in Italy. With the resources at Roccaforte's disposal, the foundation of a powerful state by the fusion of Athens, Great Vlachia and Thessalonica seemed not impossible to the ambitious dream of an adventurer, who had risen from the ranks to the absolute position which he now enjoyed. It would even seem that Thibaut de Sipoys, in order to retain his hold upon, or safeguard his own position with, the Catalan leader, at one time gave some countenance to this marriage project, for a record exists of the gifts bestowed by him upon the minstrels who were sent from the duchy to make arrangements for the approaching ceremony.[1] But Venice, whose influence in Eubœa was now predominant, had reason to fear a possible coalition between the Catalans and the Lombard triarchs, and both the bailie of Negripont and Thibaut de Sipoys were warned to be on their guard. Meanwhile the health of the young Duke grew rapidly worse, and on the 5th of November 1308 he died, leaving the succession to Gautier de Brienne, the son of his stepfather, who on the mother's side had the blood of the de la Roches in his veins. Until he should arrive to claim his inheritance, Bonifazio da Verona was to act as bailie.

[1] Rolls of the Paris Chambre des Comptes in Du Cange, *Receuil.*, ii. 355.

Roccaforte's despotic arrogance and unscrupulous exactions soon rendered him intolerable to the company, and Thibaut, whose position in the camp was humiliating and, as he believed, far from secure, took advantage of the mistrust which Venice entertained for the adventurer to request the republic to furnish him with six galleys. Pending their arrival he pursued a temporising policy, when the troopers disclosed their grievances and invited his assistance, suspecting that a trap was being prepared for his undoing. But as soon as his son had returned with the galleys which Venice was readily disposed to supply, he took a firmer attitude. He secretly consulted the twelve leaders who composed the council of war, and in accordance with their advice a general assembly of the company was summoned to meet, at which Roccaforte and his brother were called upon to answer for the murder of Berengar d'Entenza, and other deeds of violence. The two brothers were arrested and the treasure accumulated by the ambitious adventurer was distributed among the host, every man receiving thirteen gold hyperpers. Sipoys, into whose hands the prisoners were delivered, lost no time in shipping them off to Naples, where Robert of Calabria had just succeeded Charles II. Robert had an old grudge against the former lieutenant of Roger de Flor, who had declined to hand over at the appointed time certain fortresses in his titular province which were to have been restored on the conclusion of peace with Sicily. He flung them into the dungeons of the castle of Aversa, where they were allowed to die of starvation.

Cassandria had by this time become as untenable as Gallipoli. The whole surrounding country had

been stripped bare by the raids of the bandit army, and Chandrenos, the energetic commander of the imperial armies, not only barred their return towards the north, but was menacing their actual position. Thessaly, governed by a very young and wholly inexperienced prince, still lay open to them, and beyond lay the duchy of Athens, which had just lost its capable and popular ruler. Early in 1309, therefore, Thibaut de Sipoys led his unmanageable mercenaries through the vale of Tempe into the wide and fertile Thessalian plain. Johannes Angelus II., accepting the inevitable, concluded an agreement with the company by which he undertook to pay a handsome subsidy for the maintenance and defence of his frontiers. The primates were well satisfied with an arrangement which, in the event of the death of their delicate prince, would dispose of any pretensions on the part of Gautier de Brienne to assume the regency. Thibaut de Sipoys also endeavoured to negotiate with the bailie in Eubœa, but the latter, to gain time, pleaded the obligation of consulting the Triarchs Ghisi and Pallavicini, as well as the Duke of Athens, and referred to Venice for instructions.

Meanwhile Catherine de Courtenay had died in 1308, and Charles of Valois seemed further than ever from realising the ambition which his qualifications and performances so little justified. His admiral and envoy realised, not without bitterness, that the intractable company had forced upon him the unenviable position of a leader of buccaneers, and his continued presence in the hornet's nest was both irksome to himself and unjustifiable on public grounds. The difficulty was how to escape from a situation in which he had been the victim of circum-

stance. Two of the six Venetian galleys still remained at his disposal and, choosing his opportunity, he got safely on board in a Thessalian port and surreptitiously departed for France in September 1309, without taking leave of the band of adventurers of whom accident had placed him in temporary command.

The Catalans, when his desertion became known, vented their rage on the ringleaders of the conspiracy which had led to the deposition and death of Roccaforte, the captain whom they appreciated and deserved. The leadership was put into commission and a democratic administration was adopted. Two knights, together with one representative of the Almogavars and one of the Turks, were elected to form the executive, working side by side with the existing military council of twelve. Thus the company constituted itself a republic, and under the title of "The conquering host of the Franks in Romania," these adventurers continued to drain the resources of Thessaly until the day when Gautier de Brienne was so ill-advised as to call in their assistance and attract the hungry rabble south.

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CHAPTER XI

ATHENS AND EUBŒA—THE LAST OF THE DE LA ROCHES—GAUTIER DE BRIENNE

Guy II. de la Roche, or Guiot[1] as he was generally called to distinguish him from his grandfather, was only ten or eleven years old when his father died and the regency of Athens was assumed in his name by his mother Helena Dukas. Nicholas II. de St. Omer was at that time bailie in Achaia, and the powerful barons of the Fauquenbergue family were always scrupulously loyal to the overlords to whom their homage was due for their domain of Thebes. But after the arrival of Florence and Isabella in the Morea, policy perhaps not less than inclination induced Helena to seek a new protector by contracting a second marriage with Hugues de Brienne, Count of Lecce, whose first wife, her own sister-in-law, Isabella de la Roche-Bruyères, had now been dead for some years. Brienne was one of the most powerful vassals of the crown of Naples, and his family, not less influential in France, had given a King to Jerusalem and an Emperor to Constantinople. In the latter half of the year 1290 he came to the Morea to look after the fiefs in Escorta which he claimed as the inheritance of his first wife, and he

[1] The diminutive is even found on the coins struck in his reign, which bear the inscription *Guiot Dux Athenarum.*

then went on to Athens to visit his nephew the young Duke. The precise date of his marriage with the widowed Duchess is not recorded, but it was apparently in 1291, as, in a rescript of that date addressed by Charles II. to St. Omer, it is referred to as about to take place.[1] The context seems to imply that Brienne had in the meantime returned to Naples and submitted to the King certain issues respecting the feudal obligations which he would incur after his marriage by taking over the guardianship of his stepson. Nicholas II. de St. Omer was instructed to receive the formal act of obeisance from Brienne on the King's behalf, as soon as the marriage had actually taken place, without prejudice to the settlement of a dispute which had arisen between the Duchess and the Prince and Princess of Achaia, who claimed from her an obligation of homage which she repudiated. In this attitude she was supported and probably inspired by Brienne himself, who regarded it as humiliating to his dignity to recognise a feudal superior in Florence of Hainault, a mere upstart adventurer. As regent of Athens, on behalf of his stepson and ward, he returned to the position assumed by the first Guy de la Roche, and declined to acknowledge any feudal tie between the duchy and the principality. Both parties to the quarrel appealed to Charles II., who summoned them to appear personally before him at Christmas 1291, and later, as this notice proved too short, at Whitsuntide of 1292 before the feudal court at Aix in Provence. Such a journey, however, was not compatible with their duties in

[1] This document, *Reg. Ang.* No. 57, 1291–92 A, fol. 1, dated at Tarascon Sept. 14 in the fifth Indiction, belongs to the year 1291 and not to 1292 as Buchon seems to have thought. (*Rech. Hist.*, 1, p. 269, note.)

Romania, and for the time being they were both admonished to keep the peace. Brienne had even gone so far as to put forward a claim to compensation from Achaia, for expenditure incurred by Guillaume de la Roche, during his administration as bailie, but was recommended by the King to desist from prosecuting it. Meanwhile an envoy from Naples appeared in the Morea and subsequently visited Athens, but was unable to arrange a satisfactory settlement. There can have been little doubt as to the merits of the dispute, and in any case there could be no excuse for a refusal on the part of the regent at Athens to do homage for Argos and Nauplia, which lay within the boundaries of Achaia. But Charles II. was evidently reluctant to put pressure on his influential vassal, and Brienne, conscious of his advantage, remained obdurate. Neither a personal visit which he paid to Naples nor the mission of a second arbitrator led to any definite result, and the quarrel was threatening to assume a dangerous aspect, when the King, in order to secure the hand of Ithamar for his son, resolved to transfer the rights of homage over all the Frankish possessions in Romania to Philip of Tarentum, who thus became overlord of both the jealous feudatories. Orders were sent to Florence and to Brienne, on behalf of his ward, to do homage to Philip, and it was pointed out that the dangers which menaced the Frankish territories rendered a single authority preferable to the duality which had hitherto divided their strength. Charles no doubt hoped that in subjecting the rival vassals simultaneously to a new common allegiance, he could induce them to drop the burning question of their reciprocal relations. But the issue between the Prince

of Achaia and the Duke of Athens could not be solved by any such compromise, and Florence now asserted his right to receive the homage of Guiot before fulfilling his own obligations to Philip of Tarentum.

Compelled thus at last to make a definite pronouncement, and having less regard for the prejudices of the young Duke, who attained his majority in the spring of the same year, 1294, than he had felt for those of the powerful and truculent Brienne, Charles II. in July of that year declared the duchy to be a dependency of Achaia and, without reopening the old question of principle, determined the matter by announcing that, in investing Florence with Achaia, it had been his intention at the same time to place Athens under his feudal overlordship. The influence of Brienne was, however, still strong enough to make his stepson recalcitrant and, in spite of the pressing demand of Florence, the act of homage was delayed until after the death of the former, when Charles, on the 1st of October 1296, issued a categorical order to Guy II. as well as to his vassals, Othon de St. Omer, Thomas de Stromoncourt of Valona and Francesco da Verona, to take the oath of allegiance to Florence before certain deputies selected for the purpose. Helena had in the meantime induced her brother at Neo-Patras to do homage to Philip of Tarentum for Great Vlachia. Thus at length a feud was finally composed which had at one time threatened to lead to active hostilities in Romania. Brienne himself had in July 1296 taken up the command of the Angevine armies as captain-general in the war with Frederick of Sicily. There, hardly a month later, he fell mortally wounded, leaving an only son by his first marriage, who succeeded to Brienne,

Lecce, and his mother's portion of Carytena, and who eventually in 1308 became for the brief space of three years Duke of Athens, the last of the kindred of the house of de la Roche. By his second marriage with Helena Dukas he had one daughter, Jehanne or Jeanette,[1] who was wooed by the Catalan Roccaforte, and eventually became the wife of Niccolo Sanudo, Duke of Naxos.

During the reign of Guillaume de la Roche and the early years of his successor, the records of Eubœa are scanty and barren of incident. When in the year 1278 Galeran d'Ivry, coming from Naples as bailie to Achaia, carried letters also to the Terzieri, Giberto II. and Marino II., as well as to Leone dalle Carceri, who was administering a sixth part of the island for his cousin Gaetano, a prisoner in Constantinople, the power of the Lombards in Eubœa had fallen to a very low ebb. With the death of Giberto the elder, after his humiliation by the renegade Licario, the triarchies were in danger of degenerating, like more than one of the old Frankish baronies, into mere titular dignitaries. On the other hand, the Venetian bailie, who in the hour of need had organised the defences of Negripont and had succeeded in maintaining open access to this important trading-station, became inevitably a more influential personage in the island. By the year 1285 the Franks had to a great extent re-established their ascendency, and only the castles of Larmena, Metropylæ, and Caristos were still held by the Greeks, when Venice, on entering into the agreement already mentioned for a ten years' cessation of hostilities with Constantinople, reserved the rights of the republic to support the

[1] Τζανέτα of the Greek chronicle.

Eubœan barons against the Emperor. A fleet under a Venetian admiral accordingly made Negripont its headquarters. It was the interest of Venice to make herself indispensable to the triarchs, and become the paramount factor in this half-way station so necessary to her eastern trade, a task which was now rendered easier by the fact that a great part of the island at this period had fallen under female government.

Giberto II., whose two sons died in early youth, left only a daughter, Beatrice, to succeed him in the central triarchy, which seems to have been administered by his widow Maria Navigagioso, as long as she lived.[1] This daughter married Grapozzo dalle Carceri, who had divided the inheritance of Grapella with his brother Gaetano, the husband of Beatrice's aunt, Agnes Navigagioso, one brother taking a southern and the other a northern hexarchy. Marino II., the son of Narzotto, who held the two other hexarchies, in northern and southern Eubœa respectively, must have died soon after the arrival of Galeran d'Ivry, as he does not appear to have taken part in the battle in which Giberto was defeated, and, having no heir, he was succeeded by his sister Alix, the wife of Giorgio Ghisi of Tinos. Gaetano, who after his liberation from durance in Constantinople appears to have resided for some time at the court of Naples, perhaps during the period when

[1] It would appear that Maria, the widow of Giberto, was recognised as triarch until her death. Bk. III. of the Venetian *Patti* contains a list of the sovereigns and sovereign barons with whom the republic had relations in 1313. So far as Eubœa is concerned the list was evidently made out before 1311, as two of those specified were killed at the battle of the Cephissus. Two triarchs are mentioned, Maria, "dominatrix tertiarii Negripontis," and Giorgio Ghisi, together with Alberto Pallavicini, described as lord of a sixth part, which he acquired by marriage with Maria the daughter of Gaetano. Beatrice is not mentioned, nor is her son by Grapozzo, Pietro dalle Carceri, perhaps because he was still a minor.

Licario was all-powerful, also left an only daughter Maria, who married Alberto Pallavicini, Marquis of Bodonitza, and, after his death in 1311 at the battle of the Cephissus, Andrea Cornaro of Scarpanto. Grapozzo, who like his brother Gaetano comes down to us only as the shadow of a name in the annals of Eubœa, left one son by his marriage with Beatrice, Pietro dalle Carceri. His widow early in the fourteenth century found a second husband in the lord of Maisy, a cadet of the Burgundian house of Noyers, who in virtue of his wife's prospective inheritance, and as guardian of his stepson, exercised a powerful influence there. Thus, about a century after the Lombard conquest, one-half of the island had passed away from the dalle Carceri by the failure of male heirs.

The ten years of peace with the Emperor, for which Venice contracted in 1285, had not yet quite run their course when the rivalry of the two great Italian republics, competing for the trade of the east, led to active hostilities into which the empire was inevitably drawn in support of the Genoese, who were attacked in their mercantile quarter at Pera. Venice on her side found an ally in Pisa. A semblance of legality was given to the raids of Ægean pirates, who under the name, so familiar in later years, of *armatoli* sailed with the commission of the Doge, while powerful Venetian squadrons assisted in undoing the work accomplished for the empire by Licario in the islands. Phocæa, where the Genoese Zaccarias, who were related by marriage to the family of Palæologus, had established a sort of vassal state, and amassed great wealth from the profits of their alum mines, was ruthlessly sacked by Ruggiero

Morosini Malabranca. On the other hand, in the year 1298 the Venetian fleet under Andrea Dandolo was severely defeated at Cursola[1] by Lamba Doria. This reverse was again counterbalanced by the successes of Venetian privateers and, both sides having suffered equal losses, Matteo Visconti of Milan was able by opportune intervention to induce the two republics to conclude a general peace in 1299. A reservation of the kind with which the history of this period has made us familiar, nevertheless, still provided that support given by Genoa to the Greeks against Venice should not entail direct hostilities between the contracting parties. With the Emperor Venice only came to terms again in 1303, securing a heavy indemnity and a revival of her old privileges. But the cessation of hostilities then negotiated was prolonged for a further period of twelve years in 1310. The restoration of the island lords, once dispossessed by Licario's roving squadrons, which had been effected under the auspices of Venice and secured by the terms of peace, had the effect of detaching their allegiance from the Duke of the archipelago, and transferring it to their more efficient protector. This was indeed not accomplished without keen resistance on the part of Guglielmo Sanudo, who upheld the old feudal connection with Achaia, and his policy was followed by the Ghisi, who had material interests in the Morea and in Eubœa itself.

The paramount influence of Venice inevitably led to a certain amount of friction with the triarchs. In 1303 the Lombard podesta in Negripont endeavoured in his section of the town to exact a payment of taxes from a Venetian subject, who during a previous

[1] In this battle the illustrious Marco Polo was made a prisoner.

residency of twenty years had never been called upon for any contribution. The dispute occasioned by his protest raged so high that Venice, fearing aggression from the Lombard lords, determined to fortify her own quarter of the city. The bailie, Francesco Dandolo, was instructed to erect barriers at the gates, and the necessary funds were as usual provided by a contribution levied on the Jews. Three years later a fresh quarrel between the Venetian magistrate and Giorgio Ghisi, respecting the ownership of a portion of the bridge of St. Conrad which the republic claimed, led to further energetic measures for the protection of the commercial city. So generally was Venice now regarded as the dominant factor in the island that, when in 1309 a convoy of slaves, which a certain Enrico di Lusani had brought to Oreos, was landed and the captives were released, it was to the republic that Frederick of Sicily, as Lusani's overlord, addressed his complaint. The Doge, however, replied that the town of Oreos was not "altogether" under the control of Venice, and referred him to the Lombard barons. In spite of internal troubles and a divided authority the island continued to prosper; its population increased; its mercantile importance attracted a wealthy Jewish colony, and churches and religious foundations became more numerous.

Meanwhile another member of the old Veronese house of dalle Carceri had become a power in the south of the island. Bonifazio da Verona, as he is called in the annals, never became a triarch, but he nevertheless created a preponderating position for himself in his castle at Carytos, and for some twenty years was the most powerful noble in Eubœa. His first appearance on the stage takes us back once more

to the history of Athens, and dates from the ceremonies connected with the coming of age of Guiot de la Roche, of which Ramon Muntaner, who no doubt picked up his notes on the subject during his visit to Negripont and Thebes not many years after the event, gives a very picturesque description.

The rules of chivalry prescribed it as customary that a prince, on the attainment of his majority, should receive the accolade as knight, from some cavalier of high renown, whose selection would distinguish both the giver and the recipient of the knightly stroke. Among the Duke's vassals Othon de St. Omer, who had in the same year succeeded his brother in the half-barony of Thebes, might well have been chosen for such an honour, or Thomas, the third lord of Salona, "the wisest head in all Romania," or who indeed would have been more appropriate than his own stepfather, Hugues de Brienne, if indeed he was at the time in the country? To the surprise of all present, however, it was a portionless cadet of the family of dalle Carceri, who was unexpectedly called upon by the young Duke to perform a service for which the King of France or the Emperor himself would have esteemed it an honour to be chosen. This Bonifazio was the youngest son of Francesco, "the ancient," brother of the hexarchs Grapozzo and Gaetano. He had only inherited a small castle in Eubœa, and had established himself during the regency of Helena at the ducal court at Thebes, where he soon became a conspicuous figure and distinguished himself by excelling in all the accomplishments of chivalry. As such he had attracted the hero-worship of the generous boy-Duke. The ceremony had been fixed for St. John's day in the month of June. Of all the

nobles who obeyed the summons to the festivities, none made a braver show than Bonifazio,[1] who had pledged his future salary in order to raise funds with which to equip his retinue in a manner becoming the occasion. A hundred candles blazoned with his arms were carried before him in the procession to the church, where the arms of the knight-postulant were deposited on the high altar, while the archbishop of Thebes celebrated the mass. Then Guiot summoned Bonifazio to take his place beside the archbishop and give him the stroke of chivalry. He protested and asked the Duke why he should thus mock him before the world. But Guiot repeated that it was his deliberate resolve to be made a knight only by his hands, and when, thus pressed, Bonifazio had accomplished his task, the Duke addressed him in the presence of the assembly and said that ancient usage prescribed that he who gave the accolade should also offer a gift. In the present instance, however, he should receive the gift instead. The gift should be of castles and fiefs, bringing in an annual rent of 50,000 solidi, with the hand of his ward, daughter of a vassal of the duchy, who was heiress to a third of the city and island of Negripont. The lady was Agnes de Cicon,[2] titular heiress of Carystos, which had, however, remained in the hands of the Greeks since the days of Licario. The fiefs were Gardiki

[1] According to Muntaner, Bonifazio came to Eubœa from Lombardy, but it is evident that his memory played him false and that he confused him and his brothers with the first dalle Carceri who followed the Marquis of Montferrat.

[2] Othon de Cicon and his wife Felisa dalle Carceri had three children, Siegwin, Guy, and Agnes. Siegwin died early, Guy was carried off a prisoner to Constantinople and disappeared, after which Agnes became titular heiress. She had, however, no claim to a triarchy, nor did Bonifazio ever become a *terziero*, as Muntaner supposed, in which error he is followed by Moncada, who describes his daughter Marulla as heiress to a third part of the island.

in Phthiotis, near the site of the ancient Larissa Kremaste in the Myrmidon's land, and Selizeri, the site of which cannot now be identified. The island of Ægina, which also fell to his lot, was probably a third gift from the Duke, and not, as Muntaner supposes, an appanage of Agnes de Cicon. Two years later Bonifazio, with the co-operation of the Venetian bailie Jacopo Barozzi, during the renewed hostilities between the republic and the empire, recovered the strongholds of Carystos and Larmena, which he also continued to hold, perhaps as a fief from Gaetano, and by this feat of arms he expelled the last of the Greek garrisons from Eubœa.

Soon after Guiot had attained his majority, he found himself at issue with his mother, the widowed Duchess Helena, who carried her complaint to Naples, pleading that she had been unjustly deprived of the monastery of St. Luke at Stiris,[1] where she had intended to reside. Guiot on his side brought countercharges against his mother, whom he represented as claiming to dispose of certain fiefs which were indispensable to the integrity of the duchy. A reconciliation between mother and son was eventually brought about by the influence of Charles II. The complications which arose with Naples and with the Pope on account of the marriage or solemn betrothal[2] of Guiot to the infant Mahaulte of Hainault have been referred to in a previous chapter. The cere-

[1] In Phocis. The monastery was founded by Romanos I. or Romanos II. in the tenth century, in honour of a saintly hermit St. Luke of Stiris. Its church, one of the finest Byzantine edifices remaining in Greece, seems to have been modelled architecturally on the lines of St. Sophia.

[2] The document in which the contract was declared invalid by King Charles says of the princess, "Tibi assignata est et in tua nutritur custodia," which would appear to indicate rather a solemn betrothal than an actual marriage, but there is no record of a subsequent marriage ceremony.

mony appears to have taken place in 1299, for it was on the 3rd of July in that year that Charles declared the contract invalid. The little Duchess, however, continued to reside at Thebes, and in the following year the recognition of both the civil and the ecclesiastical authority was accorded.

There exists unfortunately no consecutive history of the house of de la Roche, such as the chronicle offers for the family of Villehardouin. We find there only a series of episodes, separated by considerable chronological intervals, necessary to illustrate the relations existing, or the conflicts arising between the principality and the duchy. The next such episode in sequence of time is the visit paid by Guiot to Isabella Villehardouin at Vostitza, on her return to Morea with her third husband, Philip of Savoy, who was the young Duke's contemporary. The author of the chronicle does not mention whether the little Duchess was brought to see her mother, but he is careful to record that the Duke paid homage to Philip not only for Athens, but also for his wife's dower estate of Calamata, as well as for the hereditary fiefs of Argos and Nauplia.

Guiot was now called to play an important part, beyond the confines of his own dominions, as an administrator and a captain in the field, in the duchy of Neo-Patras, whose fortunes had been for many years past closely linked by dynastic friendship and family alliance with those of Athens. It would be beyond the scope of the present study to follow in detail the perplexed and ever-shifting story of the wars and truces of Great Vlachia, since the death of the veteran adventurer Johannes Dukas. The treacherous arrest and surrender to Palæologus of his son Michael by

the intriguing Anna Cantacuzena has already received mention. His second son, Constantine Angelus, who succeeded him, had with another younger brother carried on a long war of reprisals against the despotate and the Angevine governor in Epirus. When in 1296 Constantine was recalled by the death of his father to Neo-Patras, he made peace with Philip of Tarentum and with the Despot Nicephorus, just before the death of the latter, and turned his arms against their common foe at Constantinople. The danger he thus provoked impelled him like his father to seek intimate relations with the Franks, and especially with his nephew the Duke of Athens. He was included in the cessation of hostilities negotiated between Naples and the Emperor in 1300 by Geoffrey of Porto, and he availed himself of this breathing-space to prepare for a new raid on Epirus, trusting no doubt that the captivity of Philip of Tarentum, who in 1299 became the prisoner of Frederick of Sicily, would give him a freer hand. A rescript of Charles II., however, dated July 1302, warned the barons of Achaia and Athens that the enemies of the Despina Anna, now regent for her son, were his own no less, and that they were therefore on no account to lend countenance or support to Constantine. He died in 1303, entrusting on his deathbed his only child Johannes Angelus II. to the guardianship of his sister's son, Guy II. of Athens, who was to be regarded as the legitimate ruler of the land until the heir became of age.

The succession of an infant to the throne of an unredeemed province of the old dismembered empire exposed it not only to the covetousness of the Palæologi, but also to the ambitions of the Despina and

the marauding raids of the Bulgarians. The archons therefore lost no time in appealing to the Duke of Athens to undertake the administration, in accordance with the testament of Constantine. Guiot accepted the mandate with eagerness, and summoning his vassals, Thomas of Salona and Bonifazio of Verona, he set out for his castle at Zeitoun where the leading men of Great Vlachia assembled and did homage, while he on his part undertook to respect the usages of the land and to maintain the garrisons in adequate strength. He visited his infant ward at Neo-Patras and took the necessary dispositions to ensure an efficient administration, appointing a marshal to control military affairs, a Visconti, as it would seem from a doubtful passage in the chronicle,[1] with Jean le Flamenc as his lieutenant. As his own vicar and plenipotentiary he named Antoine le Flamenc, the father of Jean, who, according to an inscription read on the spot by Buchon in 1843,[2] built the church of St. George at Carditza, where he possessed estates. The whole system of the country was now remodelled on a Frankish pattern, and coins were minted which accurately reproduced the type of the French tourney.[3] During his absence in Thessaly, some specious rumour, to the origin of which the chronicle affords no clue, seems to have been bruited abroad that the young Duke had met with a sudden death, for Carlo di

[1] "Si ordina aussi un noble home, que on appeloit Viscomity, pour mareschal de la Blaquie." (*F. C.*, p. 409.)

[2] The inscription records the restoration of the church with pictures by two monks in 1311, perhaps after it had been partially ruined by the Catalan invaders. (Buchon, *G. C. et M.*, p. 217.)

[3] These coins marked *Angelus Sab. c.*, with *della Patra* on the reverse, were for a long time a puzzle to numismatists, until *Sab. c.* was identified as *Sabastocrator* (for *Sebastocrator*) *Comnenus*, and *Patra* was recognised as the common appellation in the middle ages of Neo-Patras. See Schlumberger's *Principautés Franques du Levant*, p. 82.

Lagonessa, the husband of his aunt, Catherine de la Roche, advancing a claim to the succession, provisionally appointed Thomas of Salona to act as his vicar in the event of the rumour proving true. His hopes, however, were short-lived, and he died himself in the following year. His son did not long survive him, and thus a formidable competitor for the reversion of the duchy, should Guy II. have no heir, was eliminated.

The protection of Athens did not prevent the Despina from seeking compensation for the narrowing bounds of her son's dominions in Epirus at the expense of Neo-Vlachia, and in the early spring of 1304 she seized the castle of Phanari, which commands the roads leading from Thessaly to Jannina and Arta.[1] Guiot did not hesitate to respond to such a challenge, and among the feudatories, whom he called upon to accompany him with a complete equipment for a three months' campaign, was the marshal of the Morea, Nicholas III. de St. Omer, who was his vassal for the half-barony of Thebes. Relations between Naples and the Despina had altered not a little since Charles II. had warned the princes of Romania that the enemies of Epirus were equally his own, and now that she had shown her determination not to give effect to the marriage settlement of Ithamar, it was improbable that any remonstrance would be offered to the expedition organised by the Duke. Philip of Savoy nevertheless refused his sanction to the departure of St. Omer, who could ill be spared from the Morea. But the marshal, who was on bad terms with the Prince, since he had intervened to protect

[1] The castle of Phanari still dominates a village of the same name, on the last spur of a ridge extending northward from the mountains of Agrafa.

the imprisoned chancellor of Achaia, did not prefer his request in person, or wait for the reply. Nor did the news of his father-in-law's assassination, which reached him at Vostitza when he was about to embark, deter him from obeying a congenial summons to the field. He crossed over to Galaxidhí with a following of some ninety horsemen, and marched by Salona to Gravia and Siderocastro.[1] Guy had already set out for Thessaly. The lord of Salona and Bonifazio da Verona were following with their contingents, and when at length they all joined the standard of the Duke in the neighbourhood of Thaumakia,[2] at the entrance to the Thessalian plain, his army constituted an imposing force, including 900 Frankish knights, over 6000 Vlachiote horsemen, and some 30,000 infantry. With him also marched a small band of the redoubtable Catalans under En Fernan Ximenes d'Arenos, who, in consequence of a personal quarrel with Roger de Flor, had abandoned the company at Artaki and taken service with the Duke. The chief command was graciously offered to the marshal of Morea. After holding a council of war they advanced by Trikala and Stagus, now better known as Kalabaka, to a place described in the chronicle as Serquiche,[3] only three days' march from Jannina.

[1] The author of the chronicle here gives such a detailed account (preserved in the French version only) of the itinerary, of the halts and the incidents of this march, that there is good ground for supposing that he must have taken a personal part in it, as a follower of Nicholas de St. Omer, for whom he evidently entertained a great sympathy. The original chronicle, from which the French version was drawn, was, we know, at one time in the castle of St. Omer, and it is possible that it was composed for Nicholas by one of his followers.

[2] Dhomokho.

[3] Perhaps Syráko in the Pindus range. But the easiest line of march from Stagus to Jannina would be by Mezzovo. Buchon suggests Serakina, but I do not know of any Serakina in this part of Greece.

Here they were met by parliamentaries from Anna, who, realising the formidable character of the invasion, now assured the Duke that Phanari had been seized without her authority and against her wishes. She was ready to restore the castle and pay an indemnity of 7000 hyperpers, with 3000 more for St. Omer. These terms were accepted, and the campaign was at an end so far as Epirus was concerned. But so tame a conclusion was a disappointment to the adventurers who aimed at distinction, and to the troopers who counted on plunder. A pretext was therefore sought for a march into imperial territory, notwithstanding that the Duke was bound by the suspension of hostilities which his sovereign had contracted with Andronicus. It was given out that Byzantine troops had made a raid in Thessaly, and heralds were sent to the fortress of Servia in Macedonia to announce reprisals. The army then advanced, looting as it went, to within a day's journey of Thessalonica. Here there appeared in the camp two Lombard knights and two archons, despatched as envoys by the Empress Irene of Montferrat, the second wife of Andronicus, who had separated from her husband and now held her court in Thessalonica, which she claimed, with more justice perhaps than most of the pretenders to this theoretical kingdom, as the heiress of the great Marquis. She reproached the Duke with having violated peace without adequate reason, and with making war on a defenceless woman. If, however, he would come with the leaders of the expedition and pay her a friendly visit, she would make them welcome as guests and kinsmen. To such an appeal the chivalrous Guy could not turn a deaf ear, and he withdrew into Thessalian territory,

dispersing the army at Zeitoun, whence the feudatories returned to Eubœa, Argos, and Nauplia. He once more visited Neo-Patras, confirming the dispositions he had taken for the government of Vlachia, and on his return to Thebes detained St. Omer as his guest before the latter went back to the Morea by way of Lepanto. During his unauthorised absence the rebellion in Escorta had taken place, and the marshal was not without misgivings that his fiefs in Achaia might have been sequestrated by a prince who was always in want of revenue. He was, however, too influential and popular in the country for Philip, whose own position was none too secure, to attack him with impunity, the more so as he was so close a friend of the Duke of Athens, whose reputation was greatly enhanced by his success in Epirus. In the following spring the parliament of Corinth took place under the circumstances described in a previous chapter, and a little later, at the end of 1305, the Duchess of Athens completed her twelfth year and was declared of age in a document addressed to Count William of Hainault, which is still preserved in the archives of Mons, attested by her aunt Margaret of Matagriffon, the archbishop of Athens, Nicholas III. de St. Omer, and Engelbert de Liederkerke.[1] At the same time she was declared entitled to take over the inheritance of her father in Flanders, and a representative was empowered by the Duke and Duchess to perform the act of homage for these fiefs to Count William.

In 1307 Philip of Tarentum appointed Guiot his bailie for Achaia, in place of St. Omer, to whom

[1] St. Genois, *Droits primitifs*, p. 336. J. 51 in the inventory of the charters of Hainault.

Philip of Savoy had entrusted the administration of the principality on his departure for Italy. There is good reason to believe that a title to the principality itself had been asserted by the Duke as husband of Mahaulte of Hainault.[1] It is stated in the Aragonese chronicle that Isabella died soon after she had left the Morea,[2] and that such a claim was thereupon advanced on behalf of her daughter, the Duchess of Athens. This claim the marshal Nicholas de St. Omer, who was bailie at the time, repudiated on the ground that the principality had been forfeited by Isabella's breach of her engagements in marrying without the sanction of her feudal overlord. The Duke, it is said, responded by sequestrating the marshal's barony of Thebes. If this were so it would account for Guiot's being in possession of the castle of St. Omer in 1307 when he detained the Infant Ferdinand of Majorca as a prisoner there. The Aragonese chronicle goes on to state that when Philip of Tarentum paid a visit to the Morea, in the same year, the Duke came to perform homage as he was bound to do to his overlord, and then renewed his petition for the surrender of the principality which was his wife's inheritance. Philip, however, replied that he must address himself to King Charles at Naples, from whose paternal hands he had himself received the investiture of Achaia. This account seems at first sight somewhat difficult to reconcile with the established fact that Guiot was now appointed bailie of Achaia in place of St. Omer. But it may, on the other hand, be argued that such appointment

[1] See on page 58, the will of Isabella Villehardouin.

[2] Isabella did not actually die until 1311, but her deposition would equally have afforded the occasion for the assertion of Mahaulte's claim as the daughter of Florence.

was made as a temporary satisfaction to the Duke, who was thus constituted the real ruler of all Romania, and who at the same time superseded his old friend St. Omer, with whom he had fallen out. A number of difficulties in our historical materials, which cannot well be cleared up on any other hypothesis, are explainable if we may accept the story of the Aragonese chronicle and assume that Guy II. and Gautier de Brienne, as his successor after him, persisted in claiming the principality of Achaia as incorporated with Athens by Mahaulte's marriage with the Duke, and that this claim was as persistently ignored by Philip of Tarentum. We find, for instance, a double set of feudal officers co-existing for Achaia. While Tomaso di Marzano acted as bailie for Charles of Tarentum from 1309 to 1313, having succeeded Bertino Visconti in that capacity, one of the witnesses who signed the will of Gautier de Brienne, on the 11th of March 1311, is Gille de la Planche, who is therein described as bailie of Achaia.[1] Again, although Nicholas de St. Omer, the hereditary marshal, did not die until the 30th of January 1313,[2] if the chronological table prefixed to the French chronicle can be trusted, Thomas of Salona was already in August 1309 described in a letter addressed to him by the Venetian republic as marshal of Achaia. Moreover in a list of

[1] See note on page 126.

[2] Hopf gives the year of his death, referring to the passage in the French chronicle, as 1314, and in this he has been followed without verification by Gregorovius and Hertzberg. The table in the chronicle as printed by Buchon, p. 475, gives the 30th of January 1312. The conversion into new style brings January into the following year, *i.e.* 1313. In view of this consensus of the three German authorities I have examined the MS. in the Royal Library at Brussels, and found the version printed by Buchon to be perfectly correct. The passage runs, under the year 1312: ". . . Et celle anée le mois de Janvier le XXX^{e} jour se mourut le noble home mess^{r} Nicolas de Sant Homer mareschau de Lamorée."

the dynasts of Romania in the Venetian *patti*,[1] which must have been drawn up in or before 1311, he is also referred to as *Principatus Achaye Mareschalchus*. That Venice, whose representative in Modon had fallen out with Marzano immediately after his arrival in the Morea, affected to regard the Duke of Athens as also reigning in Achaia is indicated by her having in the year 1309 called Gautier de Brienne to account for certain outrages committed against Venetian subjects at Clarenza. It would seem therefore as if, after his feud with St. Omer, the Duke had transferred the office of marshal to Thomas of Salona. Such a situation and the recognition which it had obtained would account for the anxiety of Philip of Tarentum to bring about an engagement between his son Charles and Mahaulte, as soon as she became a widow. On the occasion of their solemn betrothal in April 1309, before the arrival of Gautier de Brienne, St. Omer was once more in Thebes. He then disappears mysteriously from the story. He was not present at the fatal battle of the Cephissus in 1311, and if the evidence of the chronological table can be accepted as proving that he lived on for two years afterwards, his absence from the field, when the Catalans were menacing Thebes, can only be explained on the assumption that Gautier, considering himself as the reversionary of Guiot's claims in Achaia, kept up the feud of his predecessor with the hereditary marshal, who had defended the cause of Philip of Tarentum. In one of his fiefs in the Morea, on the slopes of Mavrovouni, near the Achaian border of Elis, St. Omer built himself a new castle, and the village which clusters round its ruins as well as the mountain itself still preserves the

[1] See note on page 99.

memory of the last of this great race in its name of Santameri.[1]

A strange vicissitude of fortune had brought Guiot into personal relations with another young prince, not unlike himself in high spirit and adventurous disposition, the Infant Ferdinand of Majorca who, after his arrest by Thibaut de Sipoys in Eubœa, was carried to Thebes and delivered into the custody of the Duke until the good pleasure of Charles of Valois had been made known. Guy was himself entitled to ask for explanations from the Infant for his unwarrantable raid on Halmyros, but he appears to have treated him with every courtesy in an honourable confinement in the castle of St. Omer. Muntaner, who on his final withdrawal from the company was entertained on board the galley of the Venetian Giovanni Quirini, induced the latter to remain for four days at Negripont, and thus enable him to visit his prince at Thebes. He had brought letters from Thibaut to Jean de Noyers and Bonifazio da Verona inviting their assistance in the recovery of his stolen property, and Quirini used all his influence with the Venetian bailie to force the guilty parties to disgorge. Promises and assurances of goodwill were not wanting, but he never saw a soldo of his own again.[2] Meanwhile he crossed the bridge over the Euripus and rode to Thebes, where he found the Duke lying sick. An incurable disease was

[1] Neither Hopf, nor Gregorovius, nor any of the other authorities have suggested the above explanation of the concurrent holding by different persons of the same dignities in Achaia. It is not without difficulties, but in the present state of our knowledge the assumption made in the text seems most in accordance with the evidence of available records.

[2] The claim, which amounted to no less than 100,000 gold hyperpers, was not allowed to drop, and fifty years later Muntaner's granddaughter Valenza received from Venice 10,000 gold florins as some indemnity for the spoliation of her grandfather.

mining his strength, and the last of the de la Roches was already doomed. But ill as he was he received Muntaner kindly, promising to assist him to the best of his power to repair his losses, and readily accorded him permission to visit the Infant, whom he regretted to be thus obliged to detain. Muntaner spent two days with the Prince, and volunteered to ask for authority to remain in attendance on him. But Ferdinand urged him rather to go at once to Sicily, and carry a letter from him to Frederick. Such money as he had brought with him he handed to the Prince, and gave presents to the cook, whom he enjoined to keep a strict watch lest any attempt should be made to put poison in the Infant's food. The cook laid his hand on the gospel and swore that he would suffer no such foul play. Then Muntaner took his leave and went back, the richer for many costly gifts which the generous Duke had bestowed upon him. The chronicler of so many adventures has left a bright picture of the court of Athens under the "good Duke," thronged with brilliant knights who sought their wives from the noblest families of France, and preserved in the land of their adoption the purity of their western blood, though we may be disposed to regard as somewhat exaggerated his affirmation that as good French was spoken in Greece as in France.

Muntaner returned to Negripont and rejoined Quirini. They sailed by Monemvasia and Cape Malea to Coron and the island of Sapienza, where they fell in with four galleys under the command of En Riambault d'Esfar, an Aragonese in the service of King Frederick, and proceeded in company with these to Modon and Clarenza, where Muntaner parted from the Venetians and took passage with his

countryman for Corfu and Messina. He delivered his letters to Frederick, who at once sent news of the Infant's imprisonment to the Kings of Majorca and Aragon. Before long, however, Ferdinand was conveyed to Naples where the Queen, his sister, made the remainder of his captivity easy, until the King of France and Charles of Valois ordered his restoration to liberty.

Guiot's half-sister, Jeanette de Brienne, had now reached a marriageable age. The Empress Irene of Montferrat had already made advances in Athens with a view to securing her hand for her son Theodore, but as the proposal was bound up with a scheme for depriving Guiot's ward Johannes Angelus of his Thessalian territories, which were to be transferred to the young Marquis, the plan was necessarily repudiated by the chivalrous Duke.[1] The ambitious Roccaforte now conceived the idea of taking his place and thus establishing a claim, which the support of his Catalans would enable him to make good, to the eventual reversion of the duchy. Thessaly was already menaced by the Catalan invasion, and Athens, as soon as the last of the de la Roches had succumbed, seemed also destined to become their prey. Enfeebled by the progress of his disease, Guiot appears to have yielded to the inevitable, hoping secretly perhaps nevertheless that the Venetians, who saw their supremacy in Eubœa threatened by a Lombard and Catalan combination, might not be unsuccessful in delaying the match. There was a brief revival of hope that his malady might after all not prove fatal, when Athanasius, the patriarch of Alexandria, a practical physician and militant ecclesiastic, who had been ordered

[1] Nicephorus Gregoras, VII. 5, ii. p. 237.

to leave Constantinople and, being threatened on his passage from Eubœa by the fanaticism of the Minorites, took refuge in Thebes, offered the dying Duke a sovereign specific in lieu of a ransom in gold. But neither his skill nor his piety availed, and on the 5th of October 1308, the last of the de la Roche dukes died, and was buried on the following day in the Cistercian monastery at Daphni, on the old sacred road to Eleusis. This fact, which is recorded in a document certifying his death,[1] drawn up for William of Hainault, and signed by the archbishop of Athens and others, warrants the conjecture that he had been carried out on a last pilgrimage to die in the cloistered peace of that refuge from the world, which had been endowed by his ancestors and was used as the mausoleum of his house. There the traveller may still see engraved on a marble sarcophagus in the vestibule a shield emblazoned with the lilies of France.

By his will he had designated his friend Bonifazio da Verona to act as vicar, until his successor should arrive to claim the duchy. The nearest male of kin was his cousin and stepbrother Gautier, the son of his aunt Isabella de la Roche and her second husband Hugues de Brienne, and he had apparently been already recognised as the heir.[2] According to the Aragonese chronicle, where the story as told is

[1] Archives of Mons: in St. Genois, *Droits Primitifs*, p. 338. See also Buchon, *R. H.*, i. 473. The date of his death is also established by a letter from the notaries of the Venetian bailie of Eubœa preserved in the Venice archives. The Greek chronicle (line 8051, 2) states that he had fallen into a vicious habit of life, and therefore God suffered him to have no heir. The Duchess of Athens was, however, only fifteen years old at the time of his death.

[2] Hopf quotes a letter addressed to him as early as September 1308 as Duke of Athens, written under the supposition that Guy had already succumbed to the disease. (*G. G.*, p. 369).

rather more suggestive of romance than history, the succession was disputed. It is there related that Gautier arrived in due course with letters from Philip of Tarentum to the bailie of Morea, in which office Guy had been replaced by Bertino Visconti, instructing him to examine the validity of his claims and to invest him if they proved well founded. Another claimant, however, appeared before the bailie in Eschiva, the daughter of Alix de la Roche who had married Jean d'Ibelin, lord of Beyrout. Her claim was based upon her mother's primogeniture. Isabella was the third daughter, and the only son of Catherine de Lagonessa, the second sister, was already dead. The feudal court, sitting in the church of St. Francis at Clarenza, gave judgment on grounds of expediency in favour of Gautier, considering that as a powerful noble he would better serve the cause of the Franks in Romania than a lady and a widow.[1] Thereupon the lady of Beyrout, kneeling down before the high altar of the church, prayed in the hearing of all that if her cousin, the Count of Brienne, had justice on his side in assuming the inheritance, his heirs might have and hold it after him, but that if the duchy was not justly his, he might die an evil death within the year, and that his sons might never succeed him. Having commended the judges of the feudal council with a similar alternative benediction and imprecation to the judgment of heaven, she re-embarked in her galley and returned to her Syrian home. The collateral branch of the de la Roches of Veligosti and Damala, a representative of which was still alive when Gautier came to Athens, does not appear to have advanced any claim to the duchy.

[1] Eschiva d'Ibelin had married Andfroy de Montfort.

The child-widow of Duke Guy continued to reside at Thebes, and, barely six months after her husband's death, Philip of Tarentum, who claimed the title to dispose of her hand and desired to associate with his own family the hereditary rights of the heiress of the Villehardouins, negotiated for her solemn betrothal to his eldest son Charles, who was only eleven years of age. The ceremony, which took place at Thebes in April 1309, was solemnised by the archbishop of Athens in the presence of a brilliant gathering of vassals including Bertino Visconti, Nicholas de St. Omer, Thomas of Salona, Bonifazio of Verona, Antoine and Jean le Flamenc, and Rainaud de la Roche of Damala.[1]

Gautier, who arrived in the summer of the same year from Brienne, was now in the prime of his manhood. He had won his spurs in the wars of Anjou and Aragon, and had succeeded his father as Count of Lecce in 1396. According to Muntaner he had been confined in his youth, as a hostage for his father, in the castle of Agosta in Sicily. According to other authorities he was made a prisoner after his father's death, and only regained his liberty with the peace of Calabelotta. In any case he had during a long detention in Sicily become acquainted with the Catalan mercenaries, had learned their language and gained their goodwill. In 1306 he had married Jeanne de Chatillon, daughter of the constable Gaucher de St. Pol-Percien and great-granddaughter of the illustrious Villehardouin, marshal of Champagne and historian of the fourth crusade. In spite

[1] St. Genois, *Droits Primitifs*, p. 215. A *vidimus* or attestation to the letters of Guillaume du Bois, Philip's agent, announcing the conclusion of the contract.

of the double link which connected him with the fortunes of Romania, he came as a stranger to Greece, and the Thessalian archons were by no means disposed to continue under his tutelage.

The situation in Thessaly was menacing for the security of Athens and demanded immediate attention. For many years past the Dukes and the Sebastocrator had maintained relations of loyal alliance, and during the long guardianship exercised by Guiot over the infant Johannes Dukas II., Great Vlachia, administered by his agents and vassals on a Frankish system, had become practically a province of the duchy, a condition which to some extent explains, if it cannot excuse, the project for the dispossession of the lawful heir, put forward by the Empress Irene,[1] in favour of her son Theodore and Jeanette de Brienne. After the death of Guiot Johannes Dukas, supported by the archons, who regarded with suspicion the advent of an intruder from France, declared himself somewhat prematurely of age, and the Emperor Andronicus, eager to re-establish his influence over another unredeemed province of the empire, endeavoured to draw the young ruler away from the Frankish connection, by bestowing the hand of his natural daughter upon him in marriage. The reconciliation of the Sebastocrator with the Emperor and his zealous ally, the Despina Anna of Epirus, brought the influence of Byzantium up the borders of Frankish Romania, and imperial troops concentrated in southern Thessaly to bar the way to Gautier in case he should endeavour to reassume the administration. He at once opened negotiations with the leaderless Catalans, to the disgust of the Venetians

[1] See page 118.

who, equally mistrusting the intrigues of the Lombards, had commanded their governors and administrators, under pain of imprisonment, not to enter into any relations with the bandit army. Arrangements for a six months' contract in the service of Athens were negotiated with the company which, though now composed of many heterogeneous elements, was at least 7000 strong, through the agency of Roger Deslaur, a knight of Rousillon. After paying them for two months in advance, Gautier took the field at the head of his redoubtable mercenaries, who readily followed a leader whom their veterans had learned to know in Sicily. Thus supported, in a very short time he expelled the Byzantine garrisons from Phthiotis, forcing the Emperor and the Despina to make peace. According to Muntaner he then permanently engaged in his service 200 Catalan horsemen and 300 Almogavars, to whom he paid the stipulated salaries for the full six months and assigned lands in fee, while he repudiated his obligations to the rest of the company for the other four months of their contract, peremptorily ordering them with threats to evacuate the duchy. Vowing vengeance they withdrew to Thessaly. Such was, no doubt, the version which Muntaner obtained from his old comrades in arms. But it is in the first place improbable that Gautier, himself still almost a stranger to the Franks of Greece, would have deliberately incurred the hostility of such formidable enemies by an unwarrantable breach of contract, nor would he at once after the close of their Thessalian campaign have been in a position to defy a resolute host of some 7000 men, united by a common sense of outrage. We are assisted in supplementing Mun-

taner's information by the Greek chronicle and the later Aragonese compilation, which would scarcely err in misrepresenting the case for the Catalans. From the latter source we learn that the company declined to give up the custody of the strong castles they had occupied in Thessaly, as they were by convention bound to do, while the former corróborates this information indirectly by attributing the dispute to their seizure of Thaumakia. These strong places they requested to be allowed to retain as fiefs of the Duke. But Gautier, realising, as Andronicus had had reason to do, that the presence of these turbulent raiders in the border castles would prove an intolerable burden to his subjects, refused to entertain the proposal. Until this question was settled it would seem that the payment of arrears was withheld, Gautier on his side refusing to discharge his liabilities until the surrender of the castles was completed; the Catalans, on the other hand, making his refusal to pay a pretext for remaining in possession.[1] Thus an embittered feud arose between the old allies, and the winter of 1310–11 was spent in preparations for an inevitable campaign in the spring.

The suppression of the Catalan adventurers was a matter of common interest to the Franks of Romania, and it is probable that many of the Moreotes rallied round the banner of Gautier de Brienne, whom a certain number moreover regarded as the legitimate representative of their old line of princes. Among his own vassals, Thomas of Salona,[2] the Flamencs of Carditza, Rainald de la Roche, and the lords of

[1] The debt was a considerable one, even for the wealthy duchy to liquidate, as the rules of pay stipulated were four ounces of gold a month for the knights, two for a light horseman, and one for a foot soldier.

[2] Described as marshal of Achaia in the Venetian *patti*. See p. 115.

Eubœa, Giorgio Ghisi, Alberto Pallavicini, and Bonifazio da Verona, brought their contingents. Jean de Noyers was with the Duke at Zeitoun five days before the battle, and was therefore probably present. So also, as appears from records in the archives of Venice, was Nicholas Sanudo, a son of the Duke of Naxos, with his following, but neither of these two are mentioned by Muntaner as survivors, though they are known to have lived for many years afterwards. Nicholas de St. Omer was not among the vassals who responded to the call, though Thebes was directly menaced, and it must either be assumed that he was still at feud with the Duke, as has been suggested earlier in this chapter, or that the date assigned for his death in the table appended to the French chronicle is erroneous, and that he had ceased to live before the Armageddon of the Frankish chivalry, from which it is otherwise difficult to account for his absence.

In all 700 knights had joined the finest fighting force which the Franks of Romania had ever mustered, numbering some 8000 foot and 6000 horse. The Catalans, whose army included a number of expert bowmen, perhaps Comans or Alans, taken as prisoners of war and eventually affiliated to the company, could put 3500 cavalry and 4000 infantry in the field. A good many Thessalians had joined them for the campaign against the Duke, and their Turkish allies accompanied them, though not without misgivings. They had also been rejoined by the 500 men, who had taken service with Gautier, but now refused to fight against their former comrades.

From Thebes Gautier marched north towards the Thessalian frontier. Five days before the battle he

was at Zeitoun, where he hoped to arrest the advance of the Catalans from Phthiotis into Bœotia, whether they selected the eastern passage at Thermopylæ, or the inland passes further west. Here he drew up a will witnessed by Bonifazio da Verona, Gille de la Planche, and Jean de Noyers, in which he appointed his wife guardian of his son Gautier and his daughter Isabella, made liberal bequests to the church of our Lady in the Parthenon, and directed that if he fell in battle his body should be interred at Daphni, in the mausoleum of the de la Roches.[1] The enemy meanwhile had not waited to be attacked and had already slipped round his flank and entered the territories of the duchy. Striking the Bœotian Cephissus, they probably crossed the five-arched bridge of Frankish construction over that river which may still be seen, and took up a position on the right bank in the wide plain, stretching eastward from Livadhia to the river, which in winter and spring overflowed its banks and converted the lowlands into the marshy lake of Copais. The Copais, which in Strabo's time covered a considerable area of the fertile plain, was apparently under the Frankish rulers much reduced by careful attention to drainage works and embanking. Within recent times its marshes in the winter season spread over a great superficial area, and as the overflow gradually found an escape through subterraneous passages, the population from the surrounding hills followed up the receding waters to sow in the rich flood-lands. Now by scientific canal-cutting and tunnelling the surplus water is carried off to the

[1] The original document, signed the 11th of March 1311, still bearing the seal of Bonifazio, is preserved at Troyes. The text has been published by M. d'Arbois de Jubainville in his *Voyage paléographique dans le Dept. de l'Aube*, p. 332. Gille de la Planche is described as bailie of Achaia.

sea, and the condition of the Copais has been largely modified. The Catalans, selecting a position where they were protected to the north and the east by the Cephissus and the lake, perhaps opposite the modern Skripu and the site of the ancient Orchomenos, availed themselves of the few days' grace before they could be overtaken to make their camp unassailable. In the middle of March the plain was covered with a luxuriant crop of growing corn, already high enough to conceal the nature of the ground. They opened the irrigation channels and cut the dykes, letting the waters of the river inundate the plain and thus making it quite impracticable for the movements of cavalry. Entrenched as it were on an island between the spongy soil of the flooded cornlands and the river itself, they calmly awaited the attack of the enemy. As the Franks approached, the Turks, who had so long made common cause with the Catalans, adopted a neutral attitude and withdrew to a certain distance. They suspected, it seems, that they had been led into a trap, and that the two western armies intended at the last moment to combine and exterminate them.

Gautier, on learning that the Catalans had marched south in the direction of Thebes, followed in hot pursuit, and on the morning of Monday, the 15th of March 1311,[1] the united chivalry of Romania stood face to face with the bandit army, in a land where both were aliens. As the Duke reviewed his host and proudly saluted his seven hundred knights with their golden spurs, the thought may well have crossed his mind that, once he had broken the formidable

[1] For the date of the battle, long uncertain through a confusion of the chronicle which gives the right day and month, but the wrong year, see Hopf, who has definitely settled the question. (*G. G.*, p. 391, note 20.)

and devastating organisation of the Catalans, there was little to prevent his carrying his banner, with the lion of Brienne set in its field of blue, across Thessaly and Macedonia, up to the very gates of Constantinople, and himself realising the scheme for which the house of Anjou had so long toiled in vain. Beyond the green expanse the Almogavars stood their ground imperturbably. Surveying the plain which seemed ideally suited for the evolutions of cavalry, and impatient to decide the issue, Gautier placed himself at the head of the armoured knights, and shouting the battle-cry of his house, led an impetuous charge over the intervening space into the treacherous morass which the enemy had deliberately prepared. There, as the vanguard struggled for a foothold or sank deep in the clogging mud, the fierce onslaught was suddenly checked, and the mailed squadrons following close behind were borne on into the helpless mass of men and horses. Some of these rolled over on the slippery ground never to rise again. Some shed their heavily armoured riders, and floundering back to the firm soil, stampeded through the host of footmen. Others, encumbered by their harness, sank up to their girths, and stood still bearing their riders immovable as statues in the quagmire. The Catalan archers meantime poured in a deadly fire of bolts and arrows on the arrested mass. The Turks, seeing how the battle was going, rejoined the Almogavars who, advancing by the narrow stone causeways which they had carefully marked, mowed down the broken ranks with mace and battle-axe. The Duke himself was among the first to fall, and the golden lion of Brienne went down in the fatal morass. The foot-soldiers, seeing the annihilation of the strongest arm, and

realising that the day was irretrievably lost, broke and streamed back in panic flight to Thebes. According to Muntaner, out of that splendid band of seven hundred knights only two escaped inevitable death, Bonifazio da Verona, who had probably been an unwilling participator in the battle, and Roger Deslaur, who had acted as agent for the Duke in negotiations with the Catalans. Their lives were spared on account of their personal popularity with the conquerors. But Muntaner's account is evidently exaggerated. The Aragonese chronicle is nearer the mark in simply stating that many were killed or made prisoners. At the same time, with the exception of Jean de Noyers and Nicholas Sanudo, who was wounded in the head and the hand,[1] none of the more prominent barons reappear in subsequent records. Thomas de Stromoncourt of Salona, the last of his house, Alberto Pallavicini of Bodonitza, Giorgio Ghisi, and apparently also Rainald de la Roche fell round their leader, whose head was cut off, fixed on a lance, and carried in triumph through the Catalan camp.[2] Thus in one fatal day the historical chivalry of Romania was practically annihilated, and the power of the Franks, which rested on the prestige of their swords, was strangled in the marshes of the Cephissus.[3] Thus the duchy of Athens, the bulwark of western civilisation on the threshold of the east, after a hundred years of able administration and great material pros-

[1] See Thomas, *Dipl. Ven-Levant*, No. 64.

[2] It was preserved by the Catalans as a trophy for many years, but was eventually redeemed by his descendants, and brought to Lecce for burial in the cathedral, where a monument which has now disappeared was erected to Gautier's memory.

[3] The most trustworthy account of the battle and the conditions of the rival forces is given by Nicephorus Gregoras, vii. chaps. 6 and 7. Muntaner wrote from hearsay, deriving his version from his old companions-in-arms.

perity,[1] fell into the hands of a horde of Spanish adventurers, who have handed down the terror of a name, still proverbial as a stigma of reproach in a land not wanting in bitter memories.[2]

Of the reign of panic and the confusion which followed their overwhelming victory but few details have come down to us. Livadia compounded with the conquerors and secured favourable conditions. Thebes appears to have surrendered without resistance, and the widow of Gautier, who had at first taken refuge in Athens, realising now that all was lost, although the strong castles of Argos and Nauplia were still held for her, fled with her two children to Achaia and thence to France. The populations of the towns found an asylum in Eubœa, where the seaboard was protected by a chain of strong castles, and a fleet in observation was maintained by the Venetians. The company determined to settle down in the pleasant land of Attica which they had so easily acquired and, abandoning their life as wandering buccaneers, to establish themselves as a body politic. But the republican organisation by which they had, since the withdrawal of Sipoys, been governed in a rough and ready manner, had neither administrative experience nor constructive capacity, and, in order to conciliate in some measure the local populations and obtain the recognition of other states, it appeared to them advisable to adopt a form of government similar to that which they had found in existence. The occasion called for a single and a powerful arm. But there were no longer any leaders

[1] "E cosi le delizie de' Latini acquistate anticamente perli Franceschi, i quali erano piu morbidi e meglio stanti che in nullo paese del mondo per cosi dissoluta gente furono distrutte e guaste." (G. Villani, viii. chap. 51.)

[2] Katilano is still used as a term of abuse in Athens.

of pre-eminent influence among their own ranks and, realising the complications which their future relations with Eubœa might entail, they endeavoured to solve the double difficulty by offering the leadership to the most powerful personality in that island, Bonifazio da Verona. The offer, which was rich in possibilities, was a tempting one to an ambitious man, but Bonifazio declined to acquire the throne of his former friend and benefactor at the bloodstained hands of the Catalans, and they therefore invited Roger Deslaur, their other prisoner, to become the provisional governor of the duchy. He accepted the nomination, and until the end of 1312 presided over the exactions of a military caste which, appropriating not only the fiefs but also the wives of the fallen Frankish nobles, substituted a rule of organised oppression for the mild government of the de la Roches, under which Attica, prosperous and envied, had acquired in degenerate days a prestige which was her appropriate inheritance. To Roger himself fell the richest prize of all, the widow of the last Stromoncourt, who had left no child, and with her he obtained the ample barony of Salona. Their Turkish allies, whom the company, numerically inadequate to the task of colonising the conquered country, wished to establish as feudatories on the land, declined the offer and withdrew with the rich booty they had collected. A portion of them found employment in Servia. The rest determined to rejoin their kinsmen in Anatolia, and marched north through Macedonia and Thrace. Ten Genoese galleys, which were really in the service of the Emperor, contracted to carry them across the Dardanelles. Having received every assurance of loyalty from the captains, confirmed by the most

solemn oaths, the Turks went on board and piled their arms. The seamen then fell upon them and a general massacre ensued. Those who surrendered were sold as slaves in Naples and Genoa. A certain number who had remained at Gallipoli were annihilated by the imperial troops.

The appointment of Roger Deslaur as provisional president of a military republic did not, however, solve the real difficulties with which the Catalans were confronted. Surrounded by enemies, and menaced by a combination of the western powers in response to the appeal of Gautier's widow, they realised the necessity of securing the countenance of a powerful prince and turned once more to Frederick as their natural protector, offering him allegiance and recognition as their sovereign lord. By a compact formally concluded between that Prince and the "Fortunate Host of the Franks in Romania," the duchy of Athens was annexed to Sicily, and became the appanage of his second son. As, however, the young Manfred was only five years old, Frederick appointed En Berengar d'Estañol vice-regent. To him now fell the difficult task of evolving a form of political organisation from the prevailing anarchy, and during an administration of four years he accomplished not a little. Some prospect of stable order was guaranteed by a confirmation of the partition of fiefs which the conquerors had made among themselves, though the sovereign retained the revenues of the two principal cities and of the ducal domains. This assimilation of the old feudal relations established an essential link between the chief of the state and the company which, under the executive admistration of the vice-regent, continued its corporate existence as a republican organisation,

holding parliaments and affixing its seal alongside that of the Duke to public documents. The offices of state, to which the sovereign made nomination, and the direction of municipal government were retained by the Catalans for themselves exclusively and, while they adopted some of the ordinances of their predecessors, such as the prohibition of intermarriage between Franks and Greeks, unless the latter had obtained the Frank-right, the usages of Barcelona became the foundation of the local law. Their whole political system was based solely on consideration for the advantage of the conqueror, and the native population which, under the mild rule of the Frankish princes, had enjoyed a privileged position as compared with the majority of their neighbours, were now reduced to a condition of abject serfdom.

CHAPTER XII

FERDINAND OF ARAGON AND LOUIS OF BURGUNDY—MAHAULTE OF HAINAULT—JOHN OF GRAVINA—THE CATALANS IN ATHENS

THE tragic story of the last princesses of the house of Villehardouin, the victims of Angevine megalomania, closes with a singular pathos the secular record of that spirited race. In the same year in which the chivalry of Athens succumbed to the maces and battle-axes of the Catalans in the marshes of the Cephissus, Isabella Villehardouin had died in the Low Countries. Mahaulte of Hainault about the same time found her way to France, where she became a pawn in the game of dynastic alliances played with consummate skill by Philip of Tarentum. The last representatives in Greece of the Achaian dynasts were her aunt, Margaret of Matagriffon, widow of Isnard de Sabran and of Count Richard of Cephalonia, and the daughter of her first husband, whom she had named Isabella after her own sister.[1] Another daughter by her second husband appears to have died in infancy.

The feud between Margaret and her stepson,

[1] In the record of the investigation made into the circumstances of the death of Ferdinand of Majorca and the surrender of Achaia ("Declaratio summaria," *infra*), the daughter of Margaret Villehardouin is described as "domina Helisabeth." Finlay assumes that such was her name. But in the marriage contract, preserved in the archives at Messina, which must be regarded as authoritative, her name is given as Isabella. It is not specified in the chronicle.

Count John, remained irreconcilable, in spite of the temporary pacification effected by Philip of Savoy. So long as Nicholas de St. Omer lived, her neighbour in his new castle on the slopes of Mavrovouni, she had a strong protector against the aggression of her Cephalonian kinsfolk who, as the great barons disappeared, became the dominant element in the Morea. They had drawn into their camp the few remaining men of influence, such as the bishop of Olenos, the chief ecclesiastical authority after the archbishop of Patras, who had now assumed a semi-independent position, and Nicholas Lenoir of St. Sauveur and Arkadia, who seems to have acted as bailie for Mahaulte and Louis of Burgundy, when they acquired the princely title.[1] But St. Omer, who after his last appearance in Thebes to witness the formal engagement of Mahaulte to Charles of Tarentum mysteriously passes out of the story, died according to the chronological table of the French chronicle in January 1313, and Margaret was left alone with her implacable enemy. She had herself never recognised the intrigue by which her sister had been dispossessed of their father's inheritance, nor was she more disposed to admit the juggling by which the principality had been transferred to the house of Burgundy, subject only to the life-interest of her niece, who was not entitled to consent to any such disposal of Achaia so long as there were still princesses of the old stock living. Muntaner asserts that her own claims had been clearly defined in her father's will.[2] It was, however, the oppression

[1] He is so described in the Aragonese chronicle.

[2] Muntaner, ch. 262. The Aragonese chronicle states (ch. 555) that after her sister's death she put forward a claim to the principality, which Robert of Naples naturally refused to entertain, and that it was through his Spanish queen that she first entered into relations with Ferdinand of Aragon.

of the Cephalonian faction in the first instance which compelled her to seek for a new protector, and it may be conjectured that the recent successes of the Catalans were not without influence in guiding her selection. The Infant Ferdinand of Majorca, after his release from captivity in Athens and Naples, where the Queen, his sister, treated him rather as a guest than as a prisoner, had returned to his father's court, and had greatly distinguished himself at the siege of Almeria in the war with the Moors. When, after his father's death, hostilities once more broke out between Naples and Sicily, he offered his sword to his uncle Frederick, who received him with joy, and assigned to him the domain of Catania. Margaret now sent an envoy to Frederick, and offered the hand of her daughter, with all that it entailed, to his nephew, the chivalrous Prince of many adventures, who, as the younger son of a minor sovereign, had no very brilliant prospects. The King at once invited the lady of Matagriffon and her daughter to Messina, whither they proceeded with a regal train of ladies, knights, and esquires. Isabella de Sabran must have been at this time about sixteen years of age,[1] and was, to quote Muntaner, "the most exquisite creature on earth that a man's two eyes could behold, so white and rosy and well shapen, and as quick for her years as ever young lady in this world was." Ferdinand had no sooner set eyes on her than he declared he would have no other, and each day seemed to him as long as a year, until he should be wedded.

The contract was signed at Messina in February 1314,[2] and the marriage itself took place immediately

[1] Muntaner says fourteen. But Isabella could not have been born later than 1297, the year in which her father died, or 1298 if posthumous.

[2] Buchon, *R. H.*, i. p. 439, and *N. R. H.*, ii. p. 390.

afterwards. By this instrument Margaret undertook, under penalty of a heavy fine for breach of contract, to hand over to her son-in-law, not later than the following September, the barony of Matagriffon and all other lands which she possessed or might enter into possession of, with some small personal reservations. She also transferred to him such title as she could claim to the principality, or at any rate to a fifth part of it.[1] Furthermore, she made over to Ferdinand various unrealised obligations, a debt of 28,000 hyperpers due from her sister's heirs, and 100,000 hyperpers owed her by her stepson,—together with her claim to Calamata and a portion of Clarenza. She agreed to provide her daughter with a dowry of 40,000 hyperpers, 17,000 immediately and the remainder in the following September.

The bride and bridegroom, passionately in love with each other, withdrew after the wedding festivities to Catania. Margaret remained four months longer in Sicily, and returned to the Morea in the early summer. The now omnipotent triumvirate, John of Cephalonia, Nicholas Lenoir, and the bishop of Olenos met her with an ominous greeting: "You have dared to give your daughter to the Catalans. Ill shall betide you, and all that you possess be taken from you."[2] Her estates had been sequestrated in her absence, and the unfortunate Princess herself was made a prisoner.[3] Ferdinand's intervention had no effect, and he began

[1] "Quia dicta domina Margarita asseruit se habere jurâ in principatu Achaie vel Moree, in toto dictu principatu, vel saltem in ejus quinta parte, &c." The reference to the fifth part of the principality is obscure, and seems to be based on some provision in the testament of William Villehardouin.

[2] "Declaratio summaria super facto et morte Domi. Infs. Ferrandi de Majorca:" published by Du Cange and reprinted by Buchon, *R. H.*, i. p. 442.

[3] The Aragonese chronicle states that she was arrested and imprisoned by the order of King Robert.

to muster volunteers for an expedition to occupy the principality and obtain his mother-in-law's release, while Frederick, who gave him every assistance, endeavoured to secure the neutrality of Venice. Among those who volunteered for service was his faithful follower in old days with the Catalan company, Ramon Muntaner, who had for the last seven years been acting as governor of the island of Jerba[1] in the gulf of Gabes, whence he came with Frederick's full authority to Sicily, as soon as he heard that the Prince to whom he was so fondly attached was once more about to take the field in Romania.

Arriving in the spring of 1315, Muntaner found the Infanta Isabel about to become a mother, and at Ferdinand's request he proceeded to Messina to await his orders. On the 15th of April a boy was born, the Infant James, who afterwards succeeded his uncle Sancio as King of Majorca. Meanwhile Margaret Villehardouin had died, her stepson's prisoner, but the bad news had been purposely withheld from her daughter. No sooner did the Infanta's health warrant his departure than Ferdinand hastened to Messina to make preparations for the expedition, on which his wife was to accompany him as soon as her recovery was complete. He instructed Muntaner to see King Frederick and resign his post at Jerba, after which

[1] The island of Jerba, off the Tunisian coast, the scene of immemorial feuds between the rival factions of the Moawia and the Miscona, was acquired by the famous admiral Roger de Luria, and had passed to his grandson, a minor, whose guardians, after a local rising and a disaster to the foreign garrison, failing to obtain assistance from Naples, turned to Frederick of Sicily. He entrusted Muntaner with the reconquest of the island, and allowed him to dispose of its revenues for three years. Muntaner restored order after nearly two years of hard fighting, and then went to Valencia to fetch the bride to whom, while still a child, he had been betrothed. He settled in the island as governor, and remained there for two additional years after his first term of three years was concluded.

he would receive further instructions. It may be that the news of her mother's death was now prematurely broken to the Infanta Isabel, and came with too great a shock immediately after her husband's departure, for suddenly her condition gave rise to anxiety, and couriers were despatched to summon him back to her side. Ferdinand took horse without a moment's delay and rode through the night to his young wife's sick-bed. On his return she rallied for a while, but some premonition of impending doom had already prompted her to make a will, by which she bequeathed the barony of Matagriffon and her claims in Achaia to the Infant En Jacme. His devotion and despair were of no avail, and just two-and-thirty days after the birth of her son, the young Princess, whose ephemeral love-story brightens a grim page of sullen memories, died in the arms of her broken-hearted husband. Never was such grief witnessed, wrote the hardened veteran of twenty years' campaigning, as when they bore her to her grave beside the shrine, where lies the body of the blessed virgin Agatha, in the church dedicated to her memory.

Ferdinand sought distraction from his grief in the expedition to Morea, on which he started at the end of June. Just before he embarked he addressed Muntaner, who had placed all his property at the disposal of the Infant, in the presence of his assembled followers. No man, he said, owed greater obligations to another than himself to Muntaner. Then, rehearsing all that the latter had done for him in times past and present, he announced that he was about to require of him another and a yet greater service. The old soldier kissed the Infant's hand, and pledged himself while life remained to fall short

in no duty entrusted to him. So Ferdinand bade him take charge of his infant son, En Jacme, carry him with every precaution for his safety to Catalonia and deliver him into the hands of his mother, the Queen-dowager of Majorca. When this task was accomplished, he was to return to his own country and enlist all the horsemen and footmen he could engage for Morea. King Sancio would provide him with money, and he himself would be bond for his agent's word, and would execute whatever he promised or undertook.

The genial personality of the veteran adventurer, who was called upon to perform this unusual service, and his qualities of heart, uncommon in that stern age, justify a brief digression to follow his wanderings from Sicily to the Spanish coast. His first care, after chartering a stout Barcelona ship for the voyage, was to secure the services of a god-fearing lady of good family, belonging to the household of Berengar de Sarria, who could hardly fail, as the mother of two-and-twenty children, to be a qualified expert in the management of babies. In addition to the official wet-nurse, Muntaner with remarkable forethought provided two others to be held in reserve, who were shipped on board together with their infants. He enrolled a hundred and twenty men-at-arms as a guard and, as soon as he heard of Ferdinand's successful landing in Achaia, proceeded to Catania to fetch his precious charge, whose identity he was careful to establish by sworn testimony. Thence he set sail on the 1st of August. At Trapani news was received that four Neapolitan galleys were on the watch to intercept them, and that it was intended to capture the child and hold him as a hostage for

the restitution of Clarenza. The vessel remained for three weeks in Malta, where twenty Genoese and Catalan barks joined company. Then sailing west together they encountered a terrible storm, in which seven of their number were lost. All the women travellers were incapacitated by sickness, and day and night while the tempest blew Muntaner held the child in his own arms. It was not till All Saints' day that they made the Spanish coast at Salou, having been ninety-one days on board, during which time he had never left the ship. A few days later they reached Barcelona, where the King of Aragon then was. November proved wet and stormy, and Muntaner therefore had a litter constructed with a rainproof covering, in which both nurse and child were carried by relays of twenty men, on their shoulders, across the French border four-and-twenty days' march to Perpignan, where the Queen-mother was residing. Muntaner himself bore his charge, dressed in a miniature Catalan mantle, embroidered with gold, into the presence of the saintly Esclarmonde de Foix and her daughter-in-law, and having duly proved the identity of En Jacme by the testimony of witnesses and documents, after receiving full discharge and acknowledgment of the accomplishment of his task, placed the infant in the arms of his fond grandmother. A fortnight later he made his way to his home in Valencia, where he began at once to enlist troops, having received messages from Ferdinand urging expedition. Then counter-orders came. Men were to be collected in Majorca. But before anything practical had been accomplished, the gallant Prince had met his predestined fate, and there was no longer any need for reinforcements.

On sighting Clarenza, Ferdinand brought his transports to shore some two miles from the port. A body of two hundred horsemen issued from the gates to dispute his landing, but were kept at a distance by the crossbowmen, until fifty Catalan troopers had disembarked with their horses. Then charging with the Infant at their head they threw the Moreotes into disorder and pursued them into the town, where Ferdinand was acclaimed by the burgesses. Clairmont forthwith surrendered, as did Beauvoir after a short resistance, and the other castles opened their gates. The Infant ordered public proclamation to be made of the terms of Villehardouin's will, in which, according to Muntaner, there stood a clause providing in certain eventualities for the succession of his daughter Margaret. Her rights were now, he claimed, vested in his son, in whose name he took over the government of Achaia. The Count of Cephalonia, Nicholas Lenoir of Arkadia, and the bishop of Olenos received a gracious pardon after doing obeisance, and recognised him as sovereign lord. It was not long, however, before they opened communications privily with his enemies, and the bishop, whose treachery was detected, was made a prisoner, his property to an amount of 40,000 hyperpers being sequestrated.[1] Still inconsolable for the loss of his wife, but realising the necessity of a young mother's care for the future Prince of Achaia, where his tenure now seemed fairly established, he sent envoys to Cyprus to ask the King for the hand of his cousin, Isabel d'Ibelin, daughter of the Count of Joppa, whose beauty, youth, and name would all remind him of his first Princess. Towards the end of the year the fifteen-year-old bride was escorted to

[1] "Declaratio summaria," as above.

Clarenza, where the marriage was celebrated. And so for the best part of a year he remained in undisputed possession of Frankish Romania.

Although the arrangement by which Philip of Tarentum had transferred Achaia to Mahaulte and Louis of Burgundy had been concluded in the summer of 1313, it was not till nearly three years afterwards that they made any attempt to take possession of the principality. Ferdinand's descent on Clarenza and his recognition as *de facto* Prince made it imperative to lose no further time. In October 1315 Louis left France with his reluctant bride. Mahaulte had spent many years of her early life in intimate relations with her aunt, and it cannot have been in any cheerful mood that she left France to dispute the possession of Morea with Margaret's son-in-law, and secure it for the house of Burgundy. Negotiations with Venice for transport had been in progress since the month of March. On his arrival there Louis made his will, giving the customary directions for the disposal of his body, which was to be entrusted to the Cistercian order for burial, whether he died in Greece or in France. If he died childless, the Duke of Burgundy was to inherit both his French estates and the principality, with due reservation of Mahaulte's life-interest. If he had more than one child, the eldest was to succeed him in Achaia, and the younger children were to receive portions from his possessions in France. From the names of the witnesses to this document it appears that Hugues Pioche, lord of Montlahin, had been appointed marshal of Morea. His departure was still delayed for some months and he applied for and obtained corn, ships, and reinforcements from Apulia, while Ferdinand, whose available

forces were quite insufficient to hold the principality, sent urgent messages to Majorca and Catalonia to press on the enlistment of troops.

At length in April 1316 Louis and Mahaulte landed at Patras, which was now practically outside the confines of Achaia, and advanced on Clarenza, where Ferdinand had made his capital.[1] Regardless of their pledges, the Moreote nobles at once went over to the side of Isabella's daughter, and Louis was also joined by Nicholas Sanudo, one of the few survivors of the battle of the Cephissus, who was no doubt summoned as a vassal of Achaia. The leaders appear to have entered into negotiations with Ferdinand's own personal adherents, and to have been

[1] For subsequent events I have followed the "Declaratio summaria," which is a historic document, recording an investigation made into the behaviour of the Catalan captains. The narrative of the Aragonese chronicle is different in essential particulars, and its fulness of detail gives it some semblance of veracity. It is there stated that Louis and Mahaulte did not arrive together, but that the latter embarking at Marseilles and landing at Zonklon, preceded her husband, and that after she had established herself at Calamata there was a good deal of desultory fighting in which Ferdinand gained the upper hand. But evidence exists that in October 1315 Venice accorded Mahaulte a free pass for her effects on the way to the Morea, and the Aragonese chronicle is demonstrably untrustworthy in other details. The Count of Cephalonia is called Nicholas throughout, whereas Nicholas did not succeed his father until 1317. Continued reference is made to a Nicholas de la Tremouille of Chalandritza. A N. de la Tremouille of Nicopoli had indeed claimed the barony in 1286, but as he had become a Greek subject he lost his title. Giorgio Ghisi acquired the barony by marriage at the end of the thirteenth century, and after his death at the battle of the Cephissus it seems to have been divided between his daughters and with their hands to have passed to Pietro dalle Carcere and Martino Zaccaria. Louis of Burgundy again is said to have occupied Beauvoir on landing, but this castle remained in the hands of Ferdinand's partisans until after his defeat and death. He is further stated to have obtained the support of 2000 Greeks from Lacedæmonia, while Ferdinand enlisted the support of the Catalans of the duchy who, however, arrived too late. Neither statement is even plausible. The Greeks would scarcely have been disposed to assist the vassal of Philip of Tarentum, and the Catalans of the duchy had had ample notice of the advent of Louis. John Misito, the governor of Calamata, gave active support to Louis, which may explain the supposed occupation of the captanate by Mahaulte, and there was no doubt some preliminary skirmishing between the partisans of Majorca and Burgundy in the Morea.

successful in shaking the fidelity of Andrea Guitier, the captain of the Almogavars in Clarenza. As yet no reinforcements had appeared on the scene, and it was with a very inadequate following of doubtful loyalty and divided counsels that the Infant, on the 3rd of July 1316, marched to meet Louis. On the following day, a Sunday, at a place called Espero, he had sight of the enemy and bivouacked in a wood within bowshot range of their archers. The next morning, the 5th, the Burgundians broke up their camp and continued their march on Clarenza. It would have been a more prudent policy to have suffered them to exhaust their strength in an attack on a fortified town, and to have awaited the arrival of the levies from Majorca. But when two of the Catalan captains, des Fonts and William Den, in reporting the advance at the same time counselled an attack on the rearguard, the high-spirited Ferdinand was incapable of declining an invitation to battle. So he ordered his lines and prepared to attack. At the sight of the enemy's numbers his followers began to waver, but they had gone too far to draw back. It was the contingent of the Count of Cephalonia, his arch-enemy, which the Infant thus engaged. In the first onslaught his standard-bearer and a few of the Moreote knights, who had remained faithful to his cause, were struck down, whereupon, with a unanimity which suggested treachery, the rest of his force turned and fled, leaving the Prince alone with William des Fonts, Adhemar de Mosset, who was the principal witness regarding the manner of his death, and two esquires. These urged him, while a line of retreat was still open, to fly to Clairmont, but he chivalrously refused to leave the field and faced

his inevitable doom, while the others saved themselves by flight. In a moment he was surrounded, overpowered, and brutally decapitated on the field, apparently by the order of Count John, who thus wreaked his vengeance on the gallant Prince who had taken up the gauntlet on behalf of the hapless Margaret Villehardouin. "What a loss his death was," wrote Ramon Muntaner, "I can find no words to express, for he was the bravest and most enterprising cavalier of all princes then in the world, the most just and the most capable. His body was brought to Perpignan. And well it was for his mother the queen that she never knew his fate, for God had already summoned her to His presence, of whom we may well say that she is now a saint in Paradise, for in this world was never Christian lady so god-fearing, so free from pride and pure of heart."

When the head of Ferdinand fixed on a spear was publicly paraded, as evidence of his death before the gates of Clarenza, Andrea Guitier agreed at once to an armistice, and messengers were sent to Mosset and des Fonts, who had escaped to Beauvoir, and to Den at Estamirra,[1] with an invitation to come in and discuss conditions of peace. Guitier imposed upon the Almogavars by ostensibly proclaiming the Infant James Prince of Achaia, while he continued to negotiate secretly with the Burgundians. William Den protested against any composition with the enemy, and a considerable body of the Spanish troops supported his proposal to hold out in the fortress until assistance from Majorca enabled them to take

[1] Estamirra would seem to be a corruption of St. Omer, but the castles of St. Omer and Stamirra are enumerated as distinct in a list prepared for Marie de Bourbon. See note 16 in Appendix I.

the offensive. Guitier, however, urged that supplies had run short, and that he was without pay for his soldiers, both of which pretexts were afterwards found to be false. He also produced a pretended will of Ferdinand's purporting to direct that, in the event of his falling, the principality should be surrendered to Mahaulte. Louis offered to take over the houses occupied by the Catalans at Clarenza at an adequate valuation and to pay compensation for the redemption of Isabella d'Ibelin's marriage portion. So at length it was agreed that all the castles should be surrendered, and in the meantime Ferdinand's treasury, which was by no means empty, was ruthlessly plundered. The negotiation had scarcely been concluded when Berengar de Ulmis appeared off Clarenza with reinforcements. The traitors closed the gates and, announcing that peace had been signed, contemplated effecting the disarmament of his men by leading them into a trap, when a section of the Almogavars, who were dissatisfied with the surrender, informed them of the real state of things and, while the beard of Adhemar de Mosset was seen to quiver as his teeth chattered with fear, they threw open the gates inviting the new-comers to join in resistance to the Burgundians. But their food had been exhausted on the journey, and Guitier, still withholding supplies, called in the Count of Cephalonia to overawe them. They abandoned any further idea of resistance, and all the Catalans, with the exception of one or two who married and settled down there, withdrew in a sorry enough plight from the Morea. The leaders were subsequently called to account in Majorca for their conduct. Ferdinand's young widow was sent back to Cyprus, where before long she became the

mother of a son, who received the name of his famous father. She afterwards married a cousin, the Count of Joppa, and so passes out of this history.

The triumph of Louis was short-lived, for less than a month after Ferdinand's dramatic end he followed him to the grave, the victim, according to the popular voice, of poison administered by John of Cephalonia, who now overshadowed all other personalities in Achaia. In the ensuing year he also ended his ungracious life, and his son Nicholas, who succeeded him, paid but little attention to the affairs of the Morea, having more important ambitions to satisfy in Epirus, where, after assassinating his uncle, the Despot Thomas Angelos, he took possession both of his widow and of his throne, only to fall himself five years later in 1323, murdered in turn by his own brother John.

An attempt now made by the King of Aragon to negotiate a compromise by which Frederick should take over both Albania and Achaia in exchange for his kingdom of Sicily, encountered strong opposition from the French Pope at Avignon, who was interested in upholding the Burgundian claim, and Mahaulte, for the second time a widow at the age of twenty-three, was suffered to reign in an anarchical Morea. An energetic governor at Mistra, Cantacuzenus, whose son was destined before long to wear the imperial purple, was succeeded by Andronicus Palæologus Asan, son of the ex-King of Bulgaria, who encroached on the defenceless borders of the Frankish state, which the Catalans of the duchy also treated with scanty respect. Their aggressions at the same time in Eubœa, which was nominally at any rate under the feudal supremacy of Achaia, led Mahaulte to make

representations to the Doge, who was requested to send troops to the island and to warn the Venetian bailie not to make any composition with the Catalans.[1] Her embarrassments soon compelled her, however reluctantly, to implore assistance from Naples, and Robert accordingly despatched thither Eustachio Pagano of Nocera as his rector and captain. He moreover invited Mahaulte to proceed to Italy, having in contemplation a new matrimonial alliance for her with his brother John of Gravina. The support of the Pope at Avignon was enlisted for this scheme, and John XXII. undertook to give the necessary dispensation for the marriage. The title of the Burgundians to Achaia, to which it would in any case have been difficult to give practical effect, did not come into question so long as Mahaulte was alive, and might be disposed of later with the assistance of the Pope, who did in fact write to the Duke to persuade him to relinquish his claims.[2] By the marriage of his brother to the Princess who was at the same time the reversionary of Louis and legitimate representative of the Villehardouin title, Robert speculated on still securing the return of the principality to the house of Anjou. The student of this period cannot fail to be struck with the want of finality in the various arrangements devised by the court of Naples for ensuring the ultimate absorption of Achaia. They point to the extreme difficulty in feudal conditions of extirpating the paramount claims of the next-of-kin.

Mahaulte declined to be a party to the scheme,

[1] Letter from Mahaulte to Giovanni Soranzo, the Doge, written in French, dated Andravida, March 18, probably in the year 1317. (Mas Latrie, *Mélanges Historiques*, vol. iii. p. 32.)

[2] *Ep. John XXII. Reg.* 110, *Ep.* 264, in secret archives of the Vatican.

but the formal act of betrothal was drawn up in spite of her opposition. The Pope inquired of the envoys whom she despatched to Avignon whether they knew of any reasonable grounds why the marriage should not take place, and as they had none to advance wrote to her setting forth the advantages of such a union, to which he could not understand her objections. He urged her to consent without delay, unless she had some real and not merely a feigned reason for resistance.[1] On the 29th of March 1318 the Pope again addressed a joint letter to Mahaulte and John, formally releasing them from the impediments to marriage arising from consanguinity,[2] in answer to an alleged request on their part, which probably amounted to no more in Mahaulte's case than a rehearsal of the existing disabilities.[3] A summons to Naples was now conveyed to the Princess by king Robert's admiral in a manner which admitted of no refusal, and on her arrival the question of the marriage was again renewed but without success. Mahaulte then obtained permission to make a pilgrimage to Rome, whence she undertook to return upon its conclusion. But, having learned that she contemplated proceeding to France, Robert sent a mission to arrest her and bring her back to Naples.[4] The formal betrothal had placed her completely in the hands of the Angevines. Such a tie once contracted was a solemn obligation which only the Church could annul. John of Gravina now assumed the title

[1] *Ep. John XXII.*, Oct. 26, 1317. *Reg.* 109, fol. 158, *Ep.* 648, in the secret archives of the Vatican.

[2] The impediment of consanguinity arose either from the relationship of her late husband to the Count of Gravina, or from her own previous betrothal to Charles of Tarentum.

[3] *Ep. John XXII.*, March 29, 1318. *Reg.* 110, fol. 54, Pt. II., *Ep.* 904.

[4] *A. C.*, §§ 631–635, confirmed by Villani.

of Prince of Achaia, and appointed a bailie, Federigo Trogisio, who was succeeded in 1321 by Ligorio Guindazzo. These arbitrary proceedings were followed by a convention to which King Robert induced Mahaulte to adhere by an oath, taken, as its terms record, of her own free will, with a penalty for non-observance of 4000 ounces of gold.[1] By this convention Achaia was handed over to the King to govern and administer in accordance with the customs of the principality. The Princess was to nominate a treasurer who would collect the revenues, and meet all the requisitions of the Neapolitan bailie for its defence, providing him also with a personal guard of fifty knights and a hundred sergeants. Her rights to Calamata were recognised. She was to remain in control of the barony, and if the marriage contracted between herself and John of Gravina were duly consummated, the principality itself would then be restored to them conjointly without any question of title. If, on the other hand, the Church released her from her engagement, restitution would also be made for the term of her own life, with due reservation of all the rights of other parties interested. Should, however, the King or his heirs desire to take possession of the principality, they were entitled to do so, on making her adequate compensation, which was to be fixed either by mutual agreement or arbitration. Mahaulte undertook not to alienate Calamata, or any of its appurtenances, without the consent of the King or

[1] *Reg. Ang.*, No. 233 (1220–21 A), fol. 140. A rescript of Charles of Calabria, acting as regent for his father the king, who was absent from Naples, dated June 19, 1321, drawn up for the guidance of Guindazzo, who was proceeding to Achaia as bailie, in which the terms of the convention are embodied. The convention itself was drawn up in triplicate, one copy being retained by the King and one by the Princess, while the third was forwarded to Achaia. For the text see Appendix I, note 15.

his heirs; but she was entitled to hand the barony over, with the servitudes which its possession entailed, to her sister, Margaret of Savoy, provided always that the latter definitely renounced any further rights she might assert to the principality itself, and did homage to the King for Calamata. Should King Robert, however, desire himself to take over Calamata, he should be entitled to do so, on assigning to the Princess fiefs in Italy[1] of an annual value of 500 ounces of gold in compensation, or paying the same sum from his revenues until the fiefs were assigned; and if he should at any time elect to hand over the 500 ounces in land or money to Margaret of Savoy, the Princess would no longer have the right to transfer Calamata to her. In the event of such an arrangement it was to be clearly laid down that the captain and sergeants were to take the oath of fidelity to the King's representative, and undertake not to restore Calamata to the Princess or to Margaret or to any one else. If before any such transaction Mahaulte were to die, Calamata would pass to Margaret of Savoy, to whom the King would then have to pay the equivalent agreed upon for his entering into possession. Donations and grants made by Mahaulte and Louis were confirmed up to an annual total amount of 500 ounces, and obligations which they had contracted during the war, secured on lands and property, were taken over up to a maximum total of 700 ounces. Also a special grant to the knight Riccardo di Menavia, of estate in the principality valued at twenty-five ounces, made on account of personal services to Mahaulte, was guaranteed by the King.

Although the Princess had no choice but to sub-

[1] "Terris regni Sicilie citra farum."

scribe to this act of spoliation, she found an opportunity of appealing to Venice for assistance, and she held out firmly against the union with John of Gravina. Venice only referred her to the Pope, who had already exhorted her to validate the marriage. Meanwhile a complication arose which threatened to upset the calculations of the court at Naples. Eudes IV., who in 1315 had succeeded his brother Hugh as Duke of Burgundy, made over his title to the reversion of Achaia and his claims to Thessalonica to Louis of Bourbon, Count of Clermont, for a sum of 40,000 livres. But Philip of Tarentum as overlord of Achaia intervened, and once more displayed his talent for solving political difficulties by dynastic marriages. He arranged for the betrothal of his eldest son to the daughter of Louis of Bourbon, and provided the sum of 40,000 livres which the latter stood pledged to pay to the Duke of Burgundy, thus buying up the claim and leaving Mahaulte once more the only interested party. Time, however, had not worn out her power of passive resistance to the marriage with John of Gravina, and she was now compelled to accompany Robert to Avignon, where the issue was to be finally decided by the Pope. In his presence she at length confessed that the project could never be realised, as she had already contracted a secret marriage with a Burgundian knight, Hugues de la Palisse. This admission was equally if not more advantageous to the Angevines, and she was forthwith declared to have forfeited all title to the principality by marrying without the consent of her overlord. John of Gravina was accordingly once more formally invested with Achaia. Giovanni Villani relates that in September of that year, 1322, while Robert was still at Avignon,

a plot against his life was detected, instigated it was supposed by Hugues de la Palisse, because the King refused to recognise his marriage with Mahaulte, and he adds that the Ghibellines of Lombardy and Tuscany were also presumed to be compromised by the conspiracy, the whole truth regarding which remained obscure.[1] The pretext in any case sufficed to decide the fate of Mahaulte, who was conducted back to Naples and imprisoned in the Castello del Ovo. Count William of Hainault in vain strove to effect her release. He gave a procuration to Cardinal Napoleon of S. Adriano and Godfrey, abbot of Vicogne, to treat at Rome for her deliverance, and engage his credit up to an amount of 100,000 livres.[2] But the captive was too valuable. Her half-sister Margaret, on her marriage in 1324, made over all her rights to her father Philip, and as he already accepted compensation for the surrender of Achaia, he could scarcely be regarded as a claimant to anything but an empty title. The Infant James of Majorca was still a child. There was therefore no one to contest the usurpation of Anjou. In 1331 the tragic life of Mahaulte of Hainault closed. She died still protesting against the injustice of which she had been a victim, and repeating, in lieu of the testamentary dispositions which she was not suffered to make, that James of Majorca was her rightful heir.[3] King Robert salved his conscience by providing a sumptuous funeral, at which upwards of fifteen hundred

[1] G. Villani, Book IX. ch. 172. He calls him Hugo da Pizano.

[2] St. Genois, *Monuments Anciens*. Inventory of the Hainault Charters under the year 1323.

[3] The story of her later years is recorded in a *memoire* of the Chambre des Comptes at Paris, "Touchant les droits du roi de Majorque sur la principauté de la Morée," published by Du Cange and also by Buchon, *R. H.*, i. p. 450.

pounds weight of wax was consumed in tapers. The Neapolitan house of Anjou has left an unenviable notoriety for the persecution of women and, after Helena of Epirus, the history of the time presents no more pathetic figure than that of the last heiress of the Villehardouins. Torn away from her mother's side by a travesty of the marriage ceremony at the age of four, at fifteen she was left a defenceless child widow. Compelled once more to become an unwilling bride, she was for the second time a widow at twenty-three. Refusing to be forced into a third political marriage, and following for once her own natural instincts, she was deprived of liberty, and after nine years of seclusion, ended her harassed life, still young enough to be entitled to look for some happiness, childless and friendless, the innocent victim of her indefeasible rights and the blood which she had inherited.

Meanwhile John of Gravina's bailie had been steadily losing ground in the Morea. A constant change of allegiance and the instability of all authority tempted many of the lesser feudatories to contemplate with favour the greater prospect of security offered them by peaceful absorption in the area controlled by the imperial officers at Mistra, whose appointments, now prolonged for terms of successive years, enabled them to develop the resources of a prudent administration, and to make their rule popular. Under these conditions Monemvasia had become a serious competitor to Clarenza, and its inhabitants, guaranteed by privileges and immunities, grew rich by combining commerce with piracy. Already in 1320 Asan had established himself in Matagriffon and Carytena, two of the most famous strongholds of Frankish

annals, which their captains were bribed to surrender, as well as in Polyphengo on the high-road from the Arcadian uplands to Corinth, and in other castles in the mountain area. From Carytena he advanced against St. George, which the Franks had lost by treachery in the days of Florence of Hainault, and which had now been stormed and recovered by Mote de Liège and Nicholucho of Patras, a Greek archon from the Frankish side, who was appointed captain of the castle.[1] The bailie of Achaia collected a force and marched in haste to relieve the beleaguered fortress, accompanied by the bishop of Olenos, the constable Bartolommeo Ghisi, and a contingent of the Teutonic knights and the order of St. John, having learned that the captain had promised to surrender if he did not receive assistance by a specified day. Meanwhile the Greeks occupied the passes and prevented any communications with the besieged. Despairing of relief the captain surrendered, and Asan garrisoned the fortress. He however kept the banner of the Prince flying from the tower, and concealed a strong force in an ambush near by. He then pretended to withdraw, thus leading the Franks, who believed the castle to be still in the hands of friends, to press on without suspicion. As they drew up to the walls the Prince's flag was suddenly replaced by the imperial standard, and the enemy issued simultaneously from the gates and the ambush, while Asan and the main body at the same time wheeled round to the attack. The stratagem was entirely successful.

[1] Such appears to be the meaning of the rather obscure note in the chronological table prefixed to the French chronicle, which adds that Nicholucho treacherously surrendered the castle to Asan. The Aragonese chronicle gives a very detailed account of the subsequent operations, which bears the stamp of an authentic record.

The fighting bishop was wounded and, together with Ghisi, was made a prisoner, while the bailie with difficulty succeeded in withdrawing a remnant of his men.

In the following year Asan was recalled to Constantinople, and nominally replaced by Johannes Cantacuzenus, the future Emperor. The latter did not come in person to the Morea, but devoted his energies to supporting the faction of the younger Andronicus, who in 1325 was associated with his grandfather in the government of the empire, and compelled his resignation three years later, So weak was now the hold of the Angevines on what remained of the Frankish state, that in 1321 Jean de Baux, preceptor of the order of St. John, who was acting for the Neapolitan bailie, in concert with the bishop of Olenos and the chancellor, approached Venice, through the prior of the Franciscans in Romania, a monk of the family of Gradenigo, with a scheme for placing Achaia under the protection of the Doge, and thus securing immunity at the same time from the aggressions of both Greeks and Catalans, with whom the republic was at peace.[1] The Doge, however, was unwilling at this time to prejudice the prospects of Mahaulte, who had appealed to him for assistance. Some rumour of these intrigues reached the ear of John of Gravina, and convinced him that it was high time to take measures to reassert his authority in the neglected principality. In 1322 he prepared for a campaign on an important scale, and addressed himself for the necessary advances to the Florentine banking-house of Acciajuoli, to which he mortgaged a number of remunerative fiefs in Achaia. The bailie,

[1] Mas Latrie, *Mélanges Historiques*, vol. iii. pp. 54–55.

Ligorio Guindazzo, was now replaced by Nicholas de Joinville, who held the office when the belated expedition of Gravina arrived on the scene.

Meanwhile Nicholas of Cephalonia, the assassin of the Despot Thomas, had himself been murdered by his brother John, who usurped the throne of Arta, and was now endeavouring with the assistance of the Greeks to emancipate himself from Angevine fetters. The contemplated expedition offered an opportunity for the accomplishment of a double object, and the "Emperor," Philip of Tarentum, entered into a compact with his brother by which it was stipulated that John of Gravina should first land in Epirus and, if the Cephalonian appeared in his camp in obedience to a summons, should invest him on Philip's behalf with the despotate which he had already seized. He was at the same time to place garrisons in certain fortresses, and then to march from Arta through Ætolia, which the Greeks had occupied, inflicting appropriate punishment, to Lepanto, and so enter Achaia by the Corinthian Gulf. The two Princes were to contribute in equal shares to the cost of the undertaking, and furnish equal contingents of horse and foot.

Since her flight from Thebes Jeanne de Chatillon, widow of Gautier de Brienne, had not ceased to plead the cause of her disinherited son with the sovereigns of the western states. Clement V., who endeavoured to persuade the knights of Rhodes to undertake a crusade in Attica, and after him John XXII. had constantly supported her appeal and denounced the iniquities of the Catalans. Their encroachments on the captanate of Corinth, and their efforts, hitherto unsuccessful, to reduce Argos and Nauplia, identified

the interests of Gravina with those of the young Gautier de Brienne, who accordingly agreed to furnish a contingent of 300 horsemen from his country of Lecce. Time was lost in endeavouring to draw the Doge, who had stronger motives for the renewal of a peaceful understanding with Constantinople, into the combination, and, although the Moreotes did not cease to urge the necessity for early action, it was not until the summer of 1324 that preparations were sufficiently advanced for Simone da Sangro to embark as captain of the advance guard. It was under the orders of the latter as the precursor of John of Gravina, that Philip commanded the nobles of Achaia to rally at Clarenza. It is interesting to compare the list of notables to whom these instructions were addressed, with the roll of feudatories drawn up in the days of the first Villehardouins.[1] The spiritual authorities cited are Nicholas, the Latin patriarch of Constantinople, who generally now resided in Eubœa; the archbishops of Patras and Corinth; the bishop of Olenos;[2] the vicar and chapter of Coron and Modon; the preceptors of the Teutonic order and of the Knights of St. John. The temporal nobles are Nicholas Sanudo, Duke of Naxos; John Misito, captain of Calamata, with the dependent feudatories; Guy de Centenay; Hugo Raoul; Langes de Lans, and the vassals of the captanate of Corinth; Pietro dalle Carceri, triarch in Eubœa, who by successive marriages had also acquired the half-baronies of Arkadia and Chalandritza; Etienne Lenoir of St. Sauveur, whose wife, Agnes d'Aunoy, brought him the other half-

[1] Rescripts of June 22 and July 10, 1324. (*Reg. Ang.*, 255, 1324 C, fols. 156 and 218.)

[2] Episcopus Olivensis.

barony of Arkadia; Beatrice de Noyers (dalle Carceri), triarch in Eubœa; Bartolommeo Ghisi, the constable; Benjamin, the chancellor; Martino Zaccaria, lord of Chios, Damala, and half of Chalandritza; and finally Bartolommeo Zaccaria, who had married Guglielma, daughter of Alberto Pallavicini and heiress of Bodonitza.[1]

In January 1325 John of Gravina himself set sail from Brindisi with a fleet of twenty-five galleys. He did not follow the plan of campaign laid down, and only landed in Cephalonia and Zante. His occupation of these islands practically without opposition, did not compel the submission of the Despot John, who sheltered himself behind the defences of Arta. From Zante Gravina crossed the narrow strait to Clarenza, where he received the homage of the Moreote barons, the triarchs of Eubœa, and Nicholas Sanudo, Duke of the Archipelago.[2] A commercial treaty was negotiated with Venice, entitling goods imported from Clarenza to be subjected only to the very moderate customs duty of one and a half per cent., and, according to the Aragonese chronicle, a vain attempt was made to recover Carytena. Meanwhile the Prince became more deeply involved in financial obligations to the Acciajuoli, who had contracted

[1] In the Assises of Romania, codified under the auspices of Philip of Tarentum, before the accession of John of Gravina, and amplified during the bailieship of Joinville, the twelve barons, peers of Achaia, enumerated are: (1) the Duke of Athens; (2) the Duke of Naxos; (3, 4, and 5) the triarchs of Eubœa; (6) the Marquis of Bodonitza; (7) the Count of Cephalonia; (8) the lord of Carytena; (9) the lord of Patras; (10) the lord of Matagriffon; (11) the marshal of Achaia; (12) the lord of Calavryta. Of these Carytena and Matagriffon had now passed to the Greeks, and Calavryta would seem to have been long in their possession. The traditional barony was no doubt represented by other fiefs, perhaps included in Vostitza. Muntaner about the same period mentions only nine baronies, but his information respecting Achaia is not of much value.

[2] *A. C.*, chaps. 657, 658.

to provision his force during the campaign. After a few months he withdrew, ineffectually to Naples, evacuating the islands, and leaving matters, both as regards Epirus and the Catalan duchy, precisely as they were. This was his only visit to the Morea, which continued to be administered by his bailies, of whom little can be recorded but their names.[1] The semi-independent archbishop of Patras cultivated the friendship of Venice. Argos and Nauplia were still held for Gautier de Brienne. Two powerful barons divided the Frankish interest in Achaia, Misito of Calamata and Martino Zaccaria, whom Philip of Tarentum and his wife, the titular Empress, in 1325 created Despot of Asia Minor with a number of adjacent islands. The hold of the Angevines on the principality meanwhile became weaker and weaker, and in practice a condition of feudal anarchy subsisted there till the death of Philip of Tarentum and the renunciation of John of Gravina led to a new and curious phase in its decline. Before tracing the story of its disruption and eventual reoccupation by the Greeks it is necessary once more to examine the sequence of contemporary events in Athens and Eubœa.

Under the able rule of Berengar d'Estañol, as viceregent for the Infant Manfred, the Catalan Company had settled down in the duchy, though its old dependencies, Argos and Nauplia, had not surrendered, and the bounds of possible extension were still prescribed by the captanate of Corinth, the marquisate of Bodonitza, and the Lombardo-Venetian combination in Eubœa. The menace of the latter power

[1] Pietro de Sus, 1325–1327; Francesco della Monaca, 1327–1329; Guglielmo Frangipani, archbishop of Patras, 1329–1331; Gerardo d'Anguillara, 1331–1333.

was to a great extent neutralised by the friendly attitude observed towards the Catalans by Bonifazio of Carystos, who would have welcomed the transfer to the company of the island, in which he would then have remained the paramount, if not the only great feudatory. After an abortive attempt to induce the grand master of the knights of Rhodes, who had recently established themselves in that island, to undertake a crusade against the Catalans, Clement V. had vainly addressed a protest to Frederick of Sicily, and then with as little success to James II. of Aragon. The latter replied not without reason to his representations, that if the Catalans had indeed been at one time for the most part under his allegiance, they had long emancipated themselves from any subjection to his authority, that no efforts of persuasion were likely to induce the invaders to give up what they held by right of conquest, and, moreover, that the Duke of Athens, having broken his plighted bond to them, had deserved his fate.

The quest of thrones and baronies in the east was still a traditional object of ambition among the younger sons of the great nobles in the west, and when an emissary from Guy de la Tour, baron of Montauban, son of the Dauphin of Vienne, arrived in the duchy with an offer of service from his master, the Catalans in the first year of their domination were so flattered by this acknowledgment of their sovereignty, that they forthwith proposed to invest him with the kingdom of Thessalonica, which Roccaforte had coveted, and promised their help for its reconquest from the schismatical Greeks who, it was frankly admitted in the contract, still held it.[1] A

[1] Mas Latrie, *Mélanges Historiques*, vol. iii. p. 27.

more practical cession which they undertook to confer was that of the castle of St. Omer. But Guy de la Tour, in spite of the negotiations thus opened up with the company, eventually elected to become the man of King Robert, and was appointed his captain in Lombardy.

The permanence of the Catalan occupation and its constant menace to Eubœa caused no little anxiety to the Venetians, who equipped a fleet for the protection of the island, and in 1313 called upon the Lombard barons to contribute one-half of the cost. The triarchies and hexarchies were at that time distributed as follows: Giorgio Ghisi, the husband of Alix dalle Carceri, the heiress of two hexarchies, had perished at the battle of the Cephissus and was succeeded by his son Bartolommeo. Beatrice dalle Carceri and her husband Jean de Noyers held one whole triarchy, apparently the central division of the island, and Beatrice moreover acted as guardian to Pietro, her son by Grapozzo, who while still a minor had inherited his father's hexarchy. The remaining sixth was the portion of Grapella's daughter Maria who, after the death of her first husband, Alberto Pallavicini, had married Andrea Cornaro of Scarpantos. By an arrangement with Venice, whose sovereignty he acknowledged, he left his son as regent in his island, and came to Eubœa to assist the bailie in organising the defences. Bonifazio of Carystos, who was included in the summons to pay ship-money, refused to comply, alleging various grievances against the triarchs as a pretext. This brought him into conflict with Cornaro and local warfare ensued. Estañol, while giving his moral support to the lord of Carystos, had his hands too full to devote much attention to the

affairs of Eubœa. On his death in 1316 the company elected a provisional regent in William Thomasii, but referred the nomination, as they were bound by the terms of their allegiance, to Frederick of Sicily, who in the following year sent his illegitimate son Alfonso Fadrique as vice-regent. The high-spirited and ambitious bastard of Aragon, who boldly styled himself son of the most serene king of Sicily, brought with him a fleet of ten galleys and a large contingent of soldiers of fortune, recruited in Catalonia. Announcing his intention to settle permanently in the duchy, he took up his residence at Athens, on the Acropolis, and at once established relations of friendship with the powerful lord of Carystos. Bonifazio's daughter Marulla, whom Muntaner had seen as a graceful child of eight in her father's house at Negripont, was now eighteen, and according to his testimony as renowned for her beauty as for her intelligence. In offering the hand of this favourite daughter to Alfonso Fadrique, Bonifazio practically disinherited his son Thomas in her favour, making her the heiress not only of Carystos and Larmena, with the island of Ægina, but also of the important fiefs of Zeitoun and Gardiki, bestowed upon him by Guy II. This alliance led to a vigorous prosecution of hostilities between the Catalans and the Lombardo-Venetian power. Andrea Cornaro and the bailie Michele Morosini were severely defeated on land in the island itself, and sued for a suspension of hostilities, in spite of which Alfonso Fadrique occupied Negripont. By the death of Bonifazio, which occurred soon afterwards, he also entered into actual possession of Carystos and Larmena. The Venetians to whom Mahaulte of Hainault, as feudal suzerain of Eubœa, appealed for energetic intervention, pro-

testing that Cornaro was playing into the hands of the Catalans and that the bailie himself was not above suspicion, recalled Morosini and sent Francesco Dandolo to take his place, with a powerful fleet in support. Frederick of Sicily, who on grounds of policy was anxious to remain on good terms with the republic, at the same time ordered his son to restore Negripont, and leave the island, an order with which he only complied after renewed fighting in which he was less successful. The cessation of hostilities was then confirmed, but Alfonso Fadrique secured the inclusion in its terms of a stipulation exempting from the peace such Venetian subjects as were feudatories of Achaia, and he remained in occupation of Carystos. Venice having borne the brunt of the war and the cost of recovering the island, now openly assumed the position of the predominant partner and took charge of all the fortresses, confining the administration of the Lombards to the country districts. In the same year the Infant Manfred died, and the duchy passed to his younger brother William, whose long prospective minority guaranteed to Alfonso Fadrique a considerable extension of his vice-regency.

The Angevines laboured strenuously at Venice to bring about a renewal of hostilities, but the Doge, well knowing on whom the burden of war must fall, returned evasive replies. Jeanne de Chatillon also endeavoured to persuade the republic, by tempting offers of commercial privileges and feudal allegiance, to furnish her son with money, ships, and men for the recovery of the duchy, a step which would at the same time facilitate the final acquisition of Eubœa. Finally John XXII., on whom the mantle of Pope Clement had fallen, exhorted the Venetians to uphold the

cause of Christendom against the sons of perdition, who, in addition to their iniquities, had now disinherited the lawful heir of Carystos and availed themselves of the assistance of infidel Turks. The republic, however, continued to temporise. But it would seem that the pressure which was being exerted on her councillors caused some alarm both to the King of Sicily and to Alfonso Fadrique, now once more involved in difficulties with the bailie, owing to the buccaneering exploits of the Catalonian seamen, who had established a veritable pirates' nest in the Piræus. His relations with Venice since the peace had moreover not been improved by a raid which he had made with a Catalan fleet on Melos, a possession of the Duke of Naxos, who, though a Venetian subject, was as a vassal of Achaia excluded from the benefits of the cessation of hostilities. While the Neapolitan envoys were therefore urging upon the Doge the remorseless prosecution of the company, King Frederick was also concerned by the mouth of his envoys to explain away the misdeeds of the Catalan corsairs.[1] As Venice was above all things anxious to see order established in the affairs of Eubœa, they were successful in obtaining a prolongation of the truce on the expiry of its term. It was not, however, the policy of the republic for the present to afford the Catalan usurpers the sanction involved in an actual treaty of peace, implying permanent obligations, but rather to deal with an unwelcome situation which had to be faced, by provisional agreements susceptible of termination or of renewal. To secure even such an arrangement the company had to make considerable

[1] Mas Latrie, *Mélanges Historiques*, vol. iii. p. 41; Mission to Venice of Tomaso di Manso and Bartolommeo Pelegrino.

concessions. They were required to renounce the harbouring of pirates in their ports and the maintenance by themselves of any corsair craft, to equip no new vessels, and dismantle those actually in commission, depositing all the gear in magazines, not at the Piræus itself, but on the Acropolis. Only certain vessels at Livadostro were exempted from this provision, but even these were to remain unmanned. On this basis an agreement was signed at Negripont on the 9th of June 1319, to last until the following Christmas.[1] The triarchs, Jean de Noyers, Pietro dalle Carceri, Andrea Cornaro, and Bartolommeo Ghisi, were included in this instrument, which also covered the islands administered by the last named, Tinos and Myconos, and extended its benefits to the Duke of Naxos, to whom his Venetian origin proved of more practical value than his Achaian allegiance. The truce was subsequently renewed between Alfonso and the bailie Ludovico Morosini for a whole year in May 1321, and then again for several successive terms. There were, however, additional stipulations. The Catalans were not to renew the contract with their Turkish mercenaries or to tolerate their presence in the duchy. Turkish corsairs had for years been the terror of the island sea, and it was a matter of universal interest that their compatriots should not gain a footing on the western mainland. Alfonso was to dismantle the fortress of Philagra near the cape of that name in Eubœa, and to construct no new fortresses in the district of Carystos. Venice on the other hand undertook not to erect any military works between Larmena and Carystos. A month's

[1] Thomas, *Dipl. Ven.-Levant.* Also published by Mas Latrie, *op. cit.*, p. 44. A truce, not a peace, "bona et immaculata treuga."

notice on either side was necessary for the denunciation of the treaty, which was signed by fifty notables of the company.[1] The undertaking of the vice-regent not to add to the fortifications of Carystos implied the recognition of his title by Venice, and the bailie now opened negotiations with him for the purchase of this all-important position. Alfonso, however, declined to be tempted by an offer of 30,000 hyperpers, although he was eventually induced to cede Larmena to his disinherited brother-in-law.

Peace having thus, for a time at any rate, been established with Venice, he turned his attention to Thessaly, of which since the death in 1318 of the weakly Sebastocrator, Johannes Dukas, a portion had been absorbed by the empire, while the remainder was partitioned among the local magnates, of whom the Melisseni were the most conspicuous. In the ensuing state of confusion the company occupied the richest districts, and annexed them to the duchy with little opposition. Alfonso took possession of his father-in-law's fiefs in Phthiotis, and styled himself henceforth vicar-general of the duchies of Athens and Neopatras. Venice was suffered peacefully to absorb the port of Pteleon. The rest of Thessaly was gradually overrun by Albanian immigrants, driven eastward by pressure from Slavonic encroachment. Bodonitza appears to have now also been made subject to the company, and the feudal nexus was henceforth acknowledged by the last heiress of the Pallavicini, the wife of Bartolommeo Zaccaria, and later of the Venetian, Nicolo Giorgio, whose family succeeded to the border marquisate.

[1] Mas Latrie, *Mélanges Historiques*, vol. iii. p. 49. Also Thomas, *Dipl. Ven.-Levant.*

The eternal Eubœan question was however destined once more to lead to a renewal of hostilities between Alfonso and Venice. The republic had established a predominant position in the island, and the sovereignty of the Prince of Achaia had long been only nominal, but the Lombards had preserved a certain measure of independence and could still be used as a counterpoise to the influence of the bailie. Pietro dalle Carceri had no sooner attained his majority than his ambitious and acquisitive character began to reveal itself. The title to the triarchy, or to be more precise, the two hexarchies which had passed through Alix, the granddaughter of Ravano, into the hands of Ghisi, afforded him no grounds for contestation, but as the last of his race, he considered himself the lawful reversionary of the remaining triarchies, of which only a fourth part had devolved upon him by direct succession. When therefore his cousin Maria died in 1322, leaving no heirs by her second marriage with Andrea Cornaro, he took possession of her triarchy, without regard for the claims of the widower, whose protest would no doubt have received the practical support of Venice, had not Andrea himself died in the following year. Nor did Pietro admit that any title was vested in Guglielma Pallavicini, the daughter of Maria by her first husband. His mother Beatrice dalle Carceri died in 1328, and her husband Jean de Noyers two years earlier. The triarchy which she had inherited from Giberto then also fell to Pietro, who became thus lord of two-thirds of Eubœa. Tomaso, the son of Bonifazio, also died in 1326, and Alfonso Fadrique at once prepared, on behalf of his wife, to take possession of the castle of Larmena, which he had suffered his brother-in-law to occupy. Tomaso's

daughter Agnese, who had married a Venetian Sanudo, appealed to the Doge. The bailie and the triarchs reported that Alfonso was in reality contemplating the subjection of the whole island to the duchy, and Venice pronounced in favour of Agnese, declaring the rights of Marulla to have been extinguished. Alfonso, however, succeeded by diplomacy in seducing the triarchs from their allegiance. Pietro, realising, no doubt, that the protection of the bailie would in the end involve the absorption of the Lombard baronies by the republic, negotiated an independent treaty with the vice-regent, and Bartolommeo Ghisi, who was not only a Venetian subject but also held the office of grand constable of Achaia, agreed to a marriage between his son Giorgio and Simona, the eldest daughter of Alfonso Fadrique, becoming at the same time his vassal for the castle of St. Omer at Thebes, with which he was now invested.[1] The Catalans then declared war on the bailie, and once more had recourse to their Turkish allies. This gave a fresh impulse to the Anatolian corsairs, who raided Eubœa, infested all the islands of the archipelago and, not distinguishing too closely between friend and foe, even paid an unwelcome visit to Athens. The disunion of the western powers gave the Turks a free hand, and the Duke of Naxos, realising that he could no longer count upon the protection of Venice, whose great resources were strained by the hopeless struggle to keep the eastern highway open, threw himself into the arms of the Emperor Andronicus III. It is stated by Sanudo that in the year 1331, not less than 25,000 Greek and Latin Christians were carried away into

[1] See the title of the French chronicle, which refers to the book which "Bartholomée Guys le grand conestable—avoit en son chastel d'Estives."

bondage by the Turks, and this iniquitous traffic had for many years been practically unchecked. If the Catalans were to maintain their state against what they now perceived to be the common enemy, it was imperative for them to live in peace with Venice, and there were other not less cogent reasons.

The young Gautier de Brienne attained his majority in 1319 and six years later married Margaret, the daughter of Philip of Tarentum. In high favour with the Angevines, he was sent to Florence immediately after his marriage, as the precursor of Charles of Calabria, the son of King Robert, to whom the Florentines had entrusted their signory for ten years. Thither also went Philip and the titular Empress, and there no doubt the scheme was first propounded in accordance with which Gautier was to succeed John of Gravina as champion of the Frankish interests in Romania, and resume the enterprise in which the latter had so miserably failed. Nothing definite, however, could with decency be attempted until the expiry in 1328 of a suspension of hostilities, negotiated with the Catalans in favour of Gautier's possessions in Argolis. The renewal of hostilities between Venice and Alfonso seemed to offer a favourable opportunity for action, and the birth of a son in 1329 gave the titular Duke of Athens an additional incentive to vindicate his rights. Fiefs in Italy were pawned to furnish resources, and the chivalry of France and Italy enrolled themselves under his banner. The Pope instructed the ecclesiastical authorities in Romania to call upon the Catalans to evacuate the duchy within six months, under pain of excommunication, and exhorted all true believers to support the Duke with arms or with subventions.

Supplies were poured into Argos and Nauplia, and every preparation hurried on for the despatch of an expedition in the spring of 1331. Meanwhile Gautier endeavoured to secure the alliance of Venice.

Under these circumstances it was indispensable for the company to come to terms with the republic, and Alfonso Fadrique expressed his readiness to conclude a peace of two years' duration, if he were allowed to remain in undisturbed possession of Carystos. In the midst of these negotiations, however, he appears, somewhat unaccountably, to have laid down the office of vice-regent. His father Frederick had recently bestowed upon him the islands of Malta and Gozzo, and it may well be that, anticipating at no very distant date the majority of the Infant William, he contemplated withdrawing to his new possession. He was in fact in Sicily in the year 1332, but he did not permanently abandon Athens. Niccolo Lancia was appointed to succeed him as William's vicar-general in the duchies, and in that capacity signed a treaty which came into force on May 1, 1331, with the Venetian bailie and the triarchs, who had now apparently gravitated back to their natural ally. The provisions of this convention included the stipulations contracted in former agreements regarding the disarmament of Catalan vessels, and bound them afresh to renounce all composition with the Turks, and to build no new fortresses in Eubœa. They were also to pay an indemnity of 5000 hyperpers for damages sustained by Venetian subjects.[1] Alfonso Fadrique's name is cited immediately after that of the regent throughout in this instrument, which was extended so as to cover the Venetian lords of the islands. In 1333

[1] Thomas, *Dipl. Ven.-Levant.*, p. 214.

a clause was added securing to Agnese, the daughter of Tomaso da Verona, a portion of the estates which her father had claimed. A further measure of precaution now taken by the company was to deprive the Ghisi of the castle on the Cadmeia, with which Bartolommeo had been invested in 1327. The chronicle states that the fortress was at this time pulled down by the Catalans, who feared that it might be betrayed into the hands of Gautier de Brienne, and be made a base for operations against themselves.[1] Ghisi, after the dismantling of St. Omer, resumed his old allegiance, and was present with other Moreote partisans of Philip of Tarentum at Patras when the Archbishop Frangipani pronounced the ban against the Catalans in 1332.[2]

Gautier de Brienne had now nothing to hope for from Venice. He sailed from Brindisi in August 1331, with eight hundred French knights and an imposing force, too unwieldy perhaps, as Villani

[1] French chronicle, p. 274. Greek texts, 8086–92. Gregorovius (*Stadt. Athen.*, ii. p. 116), contending that this passage must be an interpolation, argues that it is inconceivable that Alfonso Fadrique would have sanctioned such a cowardly policy. It is evident that the passage did not occur in the original chronicle from which the French text was abridged, as it existed in the castle of St. Omer before the circumstances referred to could have arisen. But the passage in question is found not only in the Greek texts, but also in the French version, written at a period apparently between the years 1332 and 1346, which is therefore almost contemporary with the events described. Gregorovius also maintains, without adducing adequate proof, that the castle had been destroyed, partially at any rate, during the Catalan invasion in 1311. It was nevertheless subsequently offered to Guy de la Tour, and eventually given to Ghisi, who certainly occupied it. Alfonso was in 1331 no longer vice-regent, and it does not seem inherently improbable that the Catalans, unwilling to annul the cession, a step which would have been injurious to Alfonso's daughter, nevertheless insisted, at a moment of crisis, on levelling the defences, mistrusting the loyalty of the constable, when the champion of his suzerain was advancing against the duchy. They had, moreover, made Athens their stronghold, and studiously avoided an encounter with Gautier, whom they designed to wear out by inaction, at a distance from their centre.

[2] Du Cange, ii. 300.

suggests, for the purpose in hand. As the captain of the titular Emperor, he first visited Epirus, to exact the submission of John of Cephalonia. In this he was more successful than John of Gravina. He occupied Bonditza and Leucadia, and seizing Arta, forced the Despot, who was perhaps not sorry to be liberated from obligations to Andronicus, to acknowledge the suzerainty of Philip. Then he advanced on Bœotia. But the Catalans avoided an engagement, and though their excommunication was duly pronounced by the archbishop of Patras, neither spiritual nor temporal menaces raised the local populations against their masters. He eventually withdrew to the Morea, still hoping in vain that Venice would ultimately embrace his cause. There he lost his only son, who with his mother had been conveyed to the headquarters at Patras, and at length, deprived of his principal supporter by the death of Philip of Tarentum, and impoverished by the expense of maintaining so large a force on active service, retired in July 1332, to see his land of promise no more. His life of adventure was, however, not yet over. Recalled to Florence some ten years later as captain and conservator, he was accused of attempting to usurp all the powers of the state and create for himself a tyranny after the models of Romagna, and was expelled from the city. Like so many of his illustrious family he was destined to die in his armour, and perished as constable of France at the battle of Maupertuis. He left no direct heir, and his possessions in the Morea, as well as the county of Lecce, and his titular rights to Athens were inherited by the children of his sister Isabella, who in 1320 married Guillaume d'Enghien.

The company periodically renewed and loyally maintained the peace with Venice. Freed from any immediate menace of external danger, they were little moved by such an ineffectual weapon as the ban of excommunication, which was once more proclaimed against them, and maintained until 1346, when it was suspended by Clement VI. who was organising a crusade of united Christendom against the Turks and desired to secure the support of the Catalans, though in the first instance only provisionally. In 1337 Frederick II. of Sicily died and was succeeded by his eldest son Peter. His second surviving son William, Duke of Athens, died in the following year, and the duchy passed to the third surviving son, John, Marquis of Randazzo, who fell a victim to the great plague of 1348. His son, Frederick of Aragon-Randazzo, became Duke of Athens while still a child, under the guardianship of Blasco d'Alagona, but he in turn succumbed to the same devastating scourge in 1355. King Peter's second son Frederick then inherited the duchies, and as by the death of his eldest brother Louis almost immediately afterwards he also succeeded at the age of fourteen to the crown of Sicily, the two titles were thus once more united.

Alfonso Fadrique died in the same year as his illustrious father, leaving several sons, of whom Bonifazio inherited Carystos, Ægina, and Zeitoun, while Peter obtained possession of Salona, it is conjectured by marriage with the heiress of Roger Deslaur, and the bastard line of Aragon continued to play an important part in the Catalan duchy.

CHAPTER XIII

ROBERT AND PHILIP OF TARENTUM—MARIA OF BOURBON —THE HOUSE OF ACCIAJUOLI—JOAN OF NAPLES AND OTHO OF BRUNSWICK.

WHILE the young Gautier de Brienne was still battling with adversity in Romania, his father-in-law and patron Philip of Tarentum died on the 26th of December 1331. Catherine de Valois-Courtenay, the titular Empress, whom he had married at the age of twelve years, now became the guardian of their son Robert, who succeeded to all his titles.[1] Brought up in the easy manners and gay surroundings which now prevailed at the Neapolitan court, she was as a widow of thirty not less personally attractive than she was accomplished and enterprising. In 1326 she had accompanied her husband to Florence, and there had gathered round her a brilliant group of cavaliers and ladies whose mode of life scandalised the staid prejudices of the sober old-fashioned merchant class. It was probably the advent of the Neapolitan princess to Tuscany which first gave an impulse to that unrestrained freedom of social intercourse which Boccaccio, who was at that time a boy of thirteen, has pictured

[1] Their other children were Louis, who married Joan, Queen of Naples; Philip, who succeeded Robert; Margaret, who married first Edward Balliol, King of Scotland, and then Francis de Baux (del Balzo), Duke of Andria, whose son James succeeded his father as titular Emperor and Prince of Achaia. Another daughter, Maria, did not marry.

in the *Decameron* as characteristic of Florence in the middle of the fourteenth century.[1]

Both Philip of Tarentum and John of Gravina, not less than the King their brother, had incurred heavy liabilities to the rich Florentine banking-houses, and in particular to the great firm of Acciajuoli. The founder of this remarkable family, which became the dominant element in the last phase of Frankish Romania, had migrated in the twelfth century from Brescia to Florence, where he founded a steel factory which gave his descendants their patronymic. About a hundred years later they started the banking business, which soon established branches in all the principal marts of Europe and the Levant. Acciajuolo, apparently an illegitimate son of this house, who married into the influential family of Pazzi, became a chamberlain of King Robert, whose intimate confidence he enjoyed.[2] After he had himself returned to Florence, he sent his son Niccolo, then a youth of twenty-one, to Naples in the year 1331 with introductions to the court. The remarkable ability of this youthful agent and the tactful manner in which he represented the business interests of his firm, at once secured him the favour of the Angevines, and he specially ingratiated himself with the titular Empress, who soon found his counsel indispensable. After her husband's death she confided to him the management of all her affairs and the direction of her children's education, while she loaded him with benefits for which the

[1] The results of Buchon's researches in Florence, and especially in the Acciajuoli papers now included in the Ricasoli archives, published in his *Nouvelles Recherches Historiques*, are invaluable for the period, both as regards Achaia and Athens.

[2] Buchon, *N. R. H.*, vol. ii. Pt. I. p. 31.

voice of scandal accounted in the most obvious manner.[1]

The Acciajuoli firm, moreover, at the suggestion no doubt of Niccolo, furnished the 5000 ounces of gold which John of Gravina, incapable of grappling with the problem of the Morea and resenting the obligation to do homage for the principality to his nephew, now accepted as a further inducement to make over all his rights in Achaia to Catherine's eldest son, Robert of Tarentum, receiving in exchange the Albanian and Epirote territories and claims to which Robert, or Catherine herself as widow, had succeeded. Lepanto, however, was apparently expressly excluded from the bargain, for Bertrand de Baux, when he went to the Morea as Catherine's vicar, was especially appointed bailie for that fortress also as well as for Cephalonia, and Lepanto was thereafter administratively attached to Achaia. The confirmation of the Pope was obtained to this family arrangement, and John of Gravina then assumed the title of Duke of Durazzo. He did not long survive these events and died in 1335, while his eldest son was still a child under the guardianship of his mother Agnes de Périgord. Having successfully negotiated the recovery of Achaia by the house of Tarentum, Niccolo now made arrangements with the bank at Florence for the cession or transfer to himself of all the fiefs and estates in the principality which John of Gravina had pledged in order to raise funds for his abortive campaign. Other mortgages on lands in Morea he brought up from Diego de' Tolomei of

[1] See G. Villani, xii. 75. Niccolo had himself been married at the age of eighteen to Marguerita degli Spini. His sister Andrea or Andreina, to whom Boccaccio dedicated his book *De claris mulieribus*, also followed him to the Angevine court as wife of Charles Artois, count of Monte Oderisio.

Siena, while his domains were constantly increased by the generosity of his royal mistress, who every year conferred upon him the intestate reversion of some new estate. As one of the greatest territorial magnates in the principality, he was in 1336 enrolled among its baronial vassals, and was at the same time granted relief from certain feudal services and empowered to alienate his lands in the Morea at will. As a man of business training and instinct he was careful to have the cessions made to him by the bank in Florence confirmed not only by Catherine and her son, but also by King Robert himself.[1]

Inspired and supported by the counsels of Niccolo, the titular Empress showed more consideration for the principality than had been displayed by any of its recent rulers, whose absentee interest had been confined to the extraction of revenue. She despatched her financial adviser, Niccolo di Bojano, to make a report[2] on the local conditions, which were grave enough in themselves and had not been ameliorated by the administration of the bailies, Pietro de San Severo and after him Bertrand de Baux. The nobles, so long left to their own devices, were only concerned to annex estates, and assert their own independence. Centurione Zaccaria of Damala refused to recognise the authority of the Empress, and the military orders no longer admitted their feudal obligations. Marino Ghisi had forcibly abducted and married the presumptive heiress of Vostitza. Erard Lenoir of Arkadia, departing from the tradition of his grandfather Nicholas, had placed himself at the head of a party

[1] See the documents published by Buchon, *N. R. H.*, vol. ii., Florence, 32–104.

[2] Portions of this report are published by Du Cange, ii. 265. He erroneously assigns the document to the time of Marie de Bourbon.

which regarded James II. of Majorca, the son of the ill-fated Ferdinand and of Isabella de Sabran, as the rightful heir. The bishops of Olenos and Coron were inclined to follow in the steps of the archbishop of Patras, who had long declined to acknowledge any feudal subjection to the princes, and is not even mentioned among the vassals of Achaia in the report of Bojano. Guglielmo Frangipani, who occupied the latter see in 1337, appealed to the Pope to support his pretensions, as did his successor when Bertrand de Baux insisted on the paramountcy of Achaia. Benedict XII. declared without hesitation that Patras was a direct dependency of the curia, and when Bertrand declined to restore certain places which he had occupied with the object of bringing the archbishop to reason, Achaia was placed under the interdict. Acciajuoli perceived that it was time for the Empress and her son to proceed to the Morea in person, and endeavour by their presence to impose some order on the prevailing anarchy. Thither he accompanied them, travelling with a magnificent retinue,[1] when on the 10th of October 1338 they left for Brindisi on the way to Clarenza. He had already formed the design of constructing the great Certosa of S. Lorenzo, in the neighbourhood of Florence, where his body lies interred, and before setting out he obtained the sanction of Catherine to a provision in accordance with which the revenues of his Greek estates should in the event of his death be devoted, until the children of his marriage with Marguerita degli Spini came of age, to the foundation which still testifies to the magnitude of his conceptions and enterprises.

[1] Buchon, *N. R. F.*, vol. ii. p. 106, letter of D. Bonciani.

Negotiations were once more opened up with the archbishop of Patras, in whose city the titular Empress established herself. The powerful prelate had received armed assistance from Venice, whose subjects had ample cause of complaint against the local administration. The conciliatory influence of the Florentine made itself felt at once. Catherine showed herself more ready than her bailie had been to bow to the authority of Rome, and Bertrand de Baux, who was made responsible for the disorders which had distracted the Morea, was placed under arrest. He was, however, before long released and regained the favour of King Robert and of Catherine herself, for whom he once more acted as vicar in 1341. The growing ménace of the Turkish raiders made it imperative for the western rulers to hold closely together, and amicable relations were re-established with the Venetians, who had other troubles in the Morea, where the semi-independent Zassi of Kisterna and Janitza were threatening the "eyes of the republic" at Coron and Modon. An envoy sent to represent the claims of Venetian subjects obtained complete satisfaction. By the tact and energy of Niccolo, a semblance of normal conditions was re-established in Achaia, and in the summer of 1340 he was able to escort Catherine and her sons back to Brindisi, returning thence himself to act as her vicar for the best part of another year, when he also took his departure, delegating his authority to three plenipotentiaries, of whom one was his own relative Jacopo, son of Donato Acciajuoli.[1]

With his departure anarchy once more supervened, and Achaia became the scene of party factions, each advocating the claims of rival suzerainties

[1] Buchon, *N. R. H.*, vol. i. p. 62, note.

as offering the only prospect for resisting the danger of ultimate absorption by the Turks, whose swelling numbers and growing power in Asia Minor already made it plain that a new area of expansion must be sought by them on the European side. While one party looked to the son of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella de Sabran, another group, which strangely enough was led by the bishop of Coron, contemplated submission to Constantinople and the annexation of Achaia to the Greek province of Laconia. The events which had taken place in the capital of the empire, since the Frankish states were last concerned with the fortunes of the Palæologi, and the developments which now ensued there and once more directly affected the status of the Morea, render a brief complimentary digression inevitable.

The attempt of the weak and priestridden Andronicus II., after the death of the heir-apparent Michael, to exclude his dissolute but enterprising and popular grandson Andronicus III. from the succession, in favour of the family of his second son Constantine, had led to a disastrous civil war, during which the Turks were enabled to consolidate their position on the opposite shores of Asia, while on the west the new and aggressive power of Servia menaced the remnant of the dwindling empire. A peace patched up in 1325 between the Emperor and his grandson, who was invested with the purple as co-regent, was of short duration, and three years later Andronicus II. was compelled at the age of seventy to resign his throne and assume the habit of a monk. The third Andronicus owed his success less to his own abilities than to the counsel and support of a remarkable man, Johannes Cantacuzenus, son of a former governor of

Mistra, to which position he was himself actually appointed in 1328, though he did not proceed thither in consequence of the outbreak of the civil war in which he embraced the party of the rebellious prince. After the younger Andronicus had finally established himself on the imperial throne he offered his faithful coadjutor the rank and title of Augustus, which Cantacuzenus with modesty or dissimulation refused to accept, though he continued to guide the young sovereign's policy, and was for a time successful in infusing new vigour into the administration. Under their joint auspices the ascendency of Byzantium was temporarily re-established in Epirus and a great part of northern Greece. The death in 1333 of the wealthy and powerful archon, Stefanus Melissenus, who ruled in Phocis as a vassal of the empire, led to a struggle for the division of his inheritance between the governor of Thessalonica and John of Cephalonia, who, after assassinating his brother Nicholas, had succeeded him as Despot of Epirus. It was, however, no longer the old Epirus of the Angeli-Comneni and included little more than the ancient Acarnania, for the duchy of Durazzo had absorbed a portion, and the despotate of Romania, which the heirs of Philip of Tarentum claimed, had further curtailed the territories on which the Servians and Albanians had encroached. The tribesmen of the latter vigorous race, who had now begun to migrate from their inhospitable mountains into the more fruitful regions depopulated by continual warfare and anarchy, were already spreading over the state of Great Vlachia, which was partly dominated by the Catalan Company and partly administered by semi-independent local magnates. Andronicus III. took the field in person,

and entering Thessaly, was preparing to invade the dominions of the Despot, when he received the news that John had himself in turn been assassinated by his wife, Anna Palæologina, a masterful and ambitious woman, like her namesake and predecessor, the Despina Anna Cantacuzena, and that she had proclaimed herself regent on behalf of her son, the boy Nicephorus II. The rapid advance of Andronicus alarmed her into submission, and she offered to do homage, craving at the same time the hand of the daughter of the all-powerful Johannes Cantacuzenus for the young prince. Andronicus accepted these overtures, but insisted on her resignation of the regency, which he undertook himself, appointing an imperial governor. At the same time he received the submission of many of the Albanian subjects of John of Gravina who, alarmed at the diminution of his realm, was preparing to conduct an expedition to his disorganised duchy when he died at Naples in 1335, and was succeeded by his son Charles, afterwards the victim of the vengeance of Louis of Hungary. The young Nicephorus, on the withdrawal of Andronicus, threw himself into the arms of the Franks, and in 1338 he contrived to escape from an irksome tutelage and took refuge in Achaia, where the titular Empress made him welcome. Meanwhile the Servians under the able and perfidious Stephen Duchan, who had in 1333 secured the throne by the deposition of his father, advanced into the despotate and drove in many of the Byzantine garrisons.

The assistance of Catherine and the support which she enlisted in his behalf from the Neapolitan vicar at Durazzo were not without effect, and an opportune

local rising at Arta against the Byzantine governor enabled Nicephorus to recover his throne and independence. Andronicus was thus compelled in 1339 to re-enter Epirus. But the diplomacy and authority of Cantacuzenus were successful in winning over the young Despot, who now acknowledged himself the vassal of the Emperor, and a wise moderation exercised in success seemed destined permanently to reconquer the firm allegiance of the Epirotes, when the tide of Servian invasion once more spread southwards, and Andronicus was forced to cede to the suspected parricide Stephen Duchan all the territories northwest of and including Jannina. In 1341 he died. His son and heir, Johannes Palæologus, was a child of only nine years of age under the guardianship of his mother Anne of Savoy. Under these circumstances powerful and jealous rivals found it easy to excite suspicion in the Empress-regent of the ambitious designs of the man behind the throne, and an attempt to dismiss Cantacuzenus drove him to take the very step which he had been accused of contemplating. The partisans of the opposing factions now once more involved the distracted provinces in internecine war, and Cantacuzenus was saluted as Emperor at Didimoteichon. The predatory forces, which were eagerly awaiting the propitious moment to dismember the moribund empire, flung the weight of their respective arms into the hitherto balanced scales. The Servians embraced the cause of the legitimate heir and the regent-mother, while the co-operation of the Turks, fatal in its after consequences, sufficed to give the upper hand in the long struggle to the usurper, whose partisans in the capital opened the gates to him in 1347, when he was definitely proclaimed Em-

peror as Johannes VI. In his triumph he displayed remarkable moderation and, by a treaty signed with the Empress-regent, agreed after ten years of single rule to associate the young Johannes V., who was to marry his daughter, with himself as co-Emperor. One of his first enactments was to erect the Byzantine province in the Morea into a vassal despotate, with its capital at Mistra, and to nominate as first Despot his second son, the highly gifted Manuel, who ruled there with conspicuous success and judgment for more than thirty years.

Cantacuzenus did not complete the ten years for which he had stipulated the retention of undivided authority. The stars were unpropitious to him and his popularity rapidly waned. The deadly scourge of the great pestilence depopulated his capital, which moreover became the battle-ground of a devastating struggle for the monopoly of the Black Sea trade between the two great maritime republics of Italy, who made it alternately the base or the objective of their warlike operations. Thanks to the support he had received from the Turks, who had now definitely established themselves on the European seaboard at Gallipoli, he was enabled to see his son Mathæus crowned as Emperor in a ruined realm. But the remnant of the fickle population in the capital, making the usurper responsible for their miserable plight, turned once more to the young Palæologus who had withdrawn to Tenedos, whence with the assistance of the Genoese he succeeded in effecting his return. The city declared in his favour and the remarkable man, who from a private station had risen to occupy a throne, was compelled to resign it, and in 1355 he retired as a monk into a cloister where he composed

the memoirs which entitle him to a considerable place among Byzantine historians.

It was to Cantacuzenus in Didimoteichon that the emissaries from the Morea addressed themselves in 1341. The moderation with which thanks to his counsels Epirus had been treated after its subjugation, had convinced the Escortans and the followers of the bishop of Coron that, with a sufficient guarantee of their possessions, life would be more endurable in a province reunited to the empire than under subjection to the caprices and exactions of bailies from Naples. Their proposals were favourably received, but the events which now took place in Constantinople compelled Cantacuzenus to abandon his plan of proceeding in person to the peninsula. In the meantime overtures, which a still more powerful faction in Achaia headed by Erard Lenoir of Arkadia, Philippe de Joinville, lord of Vostitza and Nivelet,[1] Nicholas Misito, governor of Calamata, and many others had already initiated as early as 1338, were renewed to King James of Majorca, the son of Ferdinand and Isabella de Sabran, urging him to vindicate his legal title. For the moment James was involved in difficulties with his neighbours on the Spanish mainland, and it was only in 1344, when the King of Aragon proclaimed the incorporation of Majorca with his own dominions and further resistance offered little prospect of success, that he began seriously to contemplate the idea of asserting his claims to an inheritance which comprehended vassal islands of at least as great extent as Majorca itself. In that year archbishop Roger of Patras, who had hitherto leaned constantly to the side of Venice and

[1] By marriage with the heiress of the Charpignys.

regarded the maintenance of his own independence as his primary care, presided over a meeting of the barons held at Rhoviata. At this parliament it was definitely decided that they would do homage to James of Majorca as legitimate prince and invite him to take possession of Achaia, which, if united under the strong hand of a resident authority, would have a chance of developing the great natural resources which it still possessed. The land had not yet been depopulated by the visitation of the black death or swept by the slave-raiding incursions of the Seljuk pirates and, notwithstanding its impoverishment by years of constant unrest and misgovernment, by absentee ownership of important fiefs, fiscal enactions and debasement of the coinage, the barons were still able to hold out the expectation of a revenue, after deducting the expenses of administration and garrisons, of one hundred thousand gold florins. James of Majorca accepted the summons and appointed Lenoir his hereditary marshal. But he was never destined to see the land of promise which his ancestors had won and held, and like his father he was slain and decapitated on the battlefield, defending his rights against the Aragonese.[1]

The archbishop of Patras had secured his own position by simultaneous negotiations with Venice and Naples. The knights of St. John followed the example of the other ecclesiastical powers and ignored all bonds of allegiance to their sovereign princes. Claims to Achaia were at the same time advanced by the children of Philip of Savoy's second marriage, on the ground that Margaret, his daughter by Isabella Villehardouin, had made over all her rights in the

[1] See documents published by Du Cange, ii., 224, 229, 375.

principality to her father. But in spite of the countenance and promised support of Louis, King of Hungary, who saw in them a means of undermining the power of the Neapolitan Angevines, they met with no recognition.

Meanwhile Niccolo Acciajuoli, who had left the Morea in 1341, after a visit to his favourite Certosa, which he found so far advanced in construction that he made provision for its ecclesiastical endowment, returned to Naples and undertook the administration of the household of Louis of Tarentum, Philip's second son, to the advancement of whose fortunes he now devoted all his energies. His eminent services in Achaia had been recompensed with further grants of land in the principality, including all the estates which had formerly belonged to the constable Ghisi in the captanate of Corinth, as well as with an important monopoly of salt. His attention was for some years to come absorbed by the internal and domestic complications which arose in Naples after the death of King Robert, the history of which, in so far as they affect the leading actors on the stage of Achaia, must now be briefly recapitulated.

Joan,[1] the elder of the two daughters of Charles, Duke of Calabria, succeeded her grandfather Robert. She had as a child been affianced to a child cousin, Andrew,[2] second surviving son of Carobert, King of Hungary. The actual marriage ceremony was celebrated shortly before Robert's death in the year 1342, when Andrew had completed his fifteenth and Joan was entering her seventeenth year. By the provisions of Robert's will both the reigning Queen and her consort were to be regarded as minors until they reached the

[1] Born 1326. [2] Born 1327.

age of twenty-five, government being vested in the Queen-dowager and a representative council. To these conditions they were reluctantly compelled to adhere, although according to the standard of the age both were entitled to consider themselves adults at the accession of Joan in 1343. Her early engagement and marriage seemed effectually to bar the sons of Philip of Tarentum, one of whom their ambitious mother had desired to see upon the throne, from achieving that object by a dynastic marriage. The house of Durazzo was also thus effectually excluded. The Hungarians who might reasonably have expected that in virtue of his descent from Charles Martel, the eldest son of Charles II. of Naples, Robert would have allowed his crown to devolve upon Andrew, or at any rate upon Joan and Andrew conjointly, were also disappointed by the terms of the will. Rivalries and jealousies between Hungarian courtiers and the various groups at the Angevine court were inevitable. It was not long, moreover, before the young Queen and her consort manifested a serious incompatibility of temper, which the Pope was at great pains to conciliate. Round the question of Andrew's ultimate coronation there grew up a labyrinth of intrigue and counter-intrigue, and when, on the 18th of July 1345, the dead body of the Prince, who had been gagged, strangled, and flung from a balcony, was found in the garden of the palace of Aversa, public opinion tended to inculpate the Queen and her cousins. Her mother-in-law, Elizabeth of Hungary, even went so far as definitely to formulate against her the charge of being privy to his assassination, and her brother-in-law King Louis demanded the fullest investigation. The suspicion was not diminished by

the urgent rivalry of the brothers Robert and Louis of Tarentum for the hand of the young widow, and the shadow of the crime also fell across the name of their mother, the Empress Catherine, who showed favour and protection to some of the conspirators directly accused of the assassination, and was indeed in imminent peril of excommunication, when she opportunely died in all the odour of sanctity. In his zeal to divert suspicion from its natural objects Robert associated himself with Charles of Durazzo, and, usurping the functions of the justiciary and of the commission appointed by Rome to investigate the murder, succeeded in extracting a number of confessions by torture. The young Queen herself seems to have been throughout dissociated by the Pope from any complicity,[1] and when on the 25th of December of the same year her son Carlo Martello was born, Clement VI. consented to become his godfather. For a while it seemed that Robert of Tarentum, who having obtained possession of Castel Nuovo and the command of the troops, overawed Naples and probably the Queen herself, would succeed in winning her hand, and Joan was indeed induced to apply for the papal dispensation. Clement was however unwilling to facilitate such an alliance until the dark story of Andrew's murder had been cleared up, and after the death of the masterful Catherine, a change seems to have taken place. Robert was locked out of the castle by the Queen's orders, and her inclinations favoured the prospects of his brother Louis, for whom she appears to have had a marked preference. She

[1] For an able defence of Queen Joan from the complicity in her husband's assassination which historians have generally taken for granted, see Mr. St. Clair Baddeley's *Robert the Wise and his Heirs*. London, 1897.

had commanded her subjects to do homage to the infant Carlo Martello as her heir, and so long as he lived the kingdom of Naples seemed to be once more out of reach of Tarentine ambitions. Robert was himself titular Emperor, as well as Prince of Achaia and Romania. He was therefore content to seek a new alliance and obtained the necessary dispensation to marry Marie de Bourbon,[1] the rich widow of Guy de Lusignan, Prince of Galilee, son of King Hugh of Cyprus. They were married on the 9th of September 1347, and Robert assigned to his wife rents from his Italian estates and domains in Corfu and Cephalonia. Later, apparently not until ten years afterwards, he followed the traditional precedent of Achaian princes by conferring on her Calamata as a portion for the contingency of widowhood. Provision was also made in the Morea for the son of Guy de Lusignan, by the purchase of Vostitza and Nivelet from the wife of Philippe de Joinville.

A fortnight earlier Queen Joan and Louis of Tarentum were wedded, in accordance with the advice of Niccolo Acciajuoli, without waiting for the papal dispensation, which had indeed been virtually promised but not yet issued. Although the marriage took place secretly the Pope had immediate knowledge of it, and the interdict was inevitable. But Clement was prepared to relent on receiving a frank confession. His attitude fully justified the advice of Acciajuoli, who was well aware that, while the pontiff was obliged to affect compliance with the urgent demands of the Hungarian King for the punishment of his brother's murderers, the dissolution of the

[1] Daughter of Louis de Clermont, Duke of Bourbon and grandson of St. Louis.

Angevine power, on which the temporal position of the Church had so long rested, could not be contemplated with equanimity either by the curia or by the Guelph party, which realised that the security of Italy was threatened by the precarious situation in the kingdom of the Sicilies and the prospect of a Hungarian invasion. Florence had in 1343 expelled her ephemeral Duke, the young Gautier de Brienne, after a brief period of sinister experiences, and declined in her honeymoon of civic independence to make an enemy of King Louis. Rome was at the mercy of Cola di Rienzo, who had attained his extraordinary position largely in consequence of the anarchy at Naples, and Joan and Louis found themselves in the humiliating position of being compelled to sue for his assistance or at least his neutrality. In defiance of Avignon the avenger from Hungary now set out on his progress south. In January 1348, as the Neapolitan troops fell back before him or deserted, Joan fled to Provence whither, when further resistance was clearly hopeless, she was followed by her husband and by Acciajuoli. Louis of Hungary entered Naples. The infant Carlo Martello, who had been left behind, was surrendered to him and transferred to Hungary where he soon afterwards died, and the other Princes of the house of Tarentum who approached the King with those of Durazzo in the hope of making conditions found themselves prisoners. Charles of Durazzo was forthwith arraigned, sentenced to death and executed on the very spot where Andrew had been murdered. Robert of Tarentum and his brother Philip were detained and eventually removed to Visegrad. The advent of the Black Death, which made terrible ravages both in the population of

Naples and in the Hungarian army, at length relieved the city from the incubus of foreign occupation.

Meanwhile Joan, who on her arrival in France had been held as a prisoner by the Provençal barons until the Pope ordered her release, was induced by the diplomacy of Acciajuoli to negotiate a deed of sale of Avignon to the papal see, conditioned by a faculty for repurchase if she repaid the 80,000 gold florins which were advanced as its price. This bargain secured her the support of the sacred college. With the sum thus realised Acciajuoli was able to procure galleys from Genoa and mercenaries from Provence, and safely to conduct Joan and Louis back to Naples. The castles and fortresses were still occupied by Hungarian garrisons, but Acciajuoli provided funds with which many of the soldiers of fortune in charge were easily bought off, so that the Pope was able to congratulate the Queen on her happy restoration. His constant fidelity in evil times and the invaluable services which he had rendered deserved a conspicuous reward. He was now created hereditary seneschal of the kingdom. The fief of Satriano and the countship of Terlizzi were bestowed upon him, with Matera, Joha, Canosa, and other towns, which he was soon afterwards allowed to exchange for Melfi, the old Norman capital on Mount Vulture which had held out against the Hungarians under his son Lorenzo, together with Nocera and Lettere.[1]

Desultory warfare between the Hungarian and Angevine condottieri continued through 1349, and the King, who had not ceased to demand from the temporising Clement that Joan herself should be

[1] Buchon, *N. R. H.*, i. pp. 77–78. Buchon, however, confuses Melfi with Amalfi.

subjected to a judicial inquiry, was threatening to return with a fresh army. Meanwhile he was pressing his suit upon the widow of the Duke of Durazzo, whom he had put to death. Clement urged the Neapolitans to remain faithful to their lawful sovereigns, and Acciajuoli laboured prodigiously to uphold their cause. The return of Louis of Hungary, who landed at Manfredonia in December, once more placed the kingdom at his mercy, but the immense cost of maintaining an expedition so far from home and serious complications in Hungary itself, not less than the condemnation of the Holy See, gave him serious cause for reflection, and in August 1350 a treaty was negotiated, by which it was agreed that a judicial investigation of the Queen's complicity in the murder of Andrew should be held, and that she and her husband should leave the kingdom until this condition was fulfilled. Louis of Hungary was to evacuate Naples, reserving to himself the titular dignities of Salerno and Monte St. Angelo, which he had inherited from his grandfather, and was to release his prisoners on payment of a ransom of 300,000 florins, which he afterward formally renounced. The terms of the treaty were only very partially carried out. Louis on his side evacuated the Sicilies, but Joan and her husband returned after a brief absence from the capital spent at Gaeta and Procida. Nor is there any evidence to show that a trial in any form ever took place. The royal captives in Hungary were not released until 1352, after the coronation of Louis of Tarentum as King-consort had taken place. 'Acciajuoli, the master statesman, to whose diplomatic skill and financial assistance Joan and Louis owed their emergence from an apparently hopeless position, and

Naples its redemption from disruption and chaos, was now at the summit of his influence and prosperity, and inevitably became an object of detraction to the envious. The one shadow on his marvellous record of success was the death at Barletta in 1354 of his eldest son, the gallant Lorenzo, the first of the family to be laid to rest with a princely pomp which attested his parent's love or pride, in that Certosa in Yal d'Ema which bore the name of his patron saint. One of the greatest achievements of his extraordinary career was still to be accomplished, namely, the recovery of the greater part of Sicily in 1355 from the Aragonese dynasty,[1] a task which had baffled all the resources of Naples and the Church for nearly three-quarters of a century, followed by the coronation of his royal master and mistress at Messina. No material rewards could amply compensate such services, but further enfeoffments in Italy were followed by his nomination to the countship of Malta and Gozzo, which the reconquest of Sicily had placed once more in the gift of Queen Joan.[2] About the same time he received an investiture which afforded his family the stepping-stone to a principality in Romania.

The rule of Robert of Tarentum in Achaia, exercised through his vicars, was never more than nominal, and during his imprisonment in Hungary and the political confusion in Naples the principality was left

[1] Frederick III. afterwards gradually recovered his lost territories, but he only entered into full possession in 1372, as the feudatory of Queen Joan.

[2] Buchon's researches in the Ricasoli archives established the fact that Niccolo Acciajuoli was appointed Count of Malta and Gozzo in 1357 (*N. R. H.*, i. p. 102). He ceded the title to his son Angelo, who in a letter preserved in the archives of Palmero of the 6th of September 1358 already calls himself *Comes Malte* (*Diplomi Angivini dello Archivio di Stato di Palmero.* Travali, Palermo, 1886, p. 105).

to its fate. The raids of the Seljuk Turks, many of whom had gained a knowledge of the topography by mercenary service, became more and more frequent and where the scourge of their presence had passed the grass was not suffered to grow again, and the children were carried off to be sold into slavery. The devastating war between Venice and Genoa, which had broken out in 1350, had reacted on the Morea only a degree less disastrously than on Byzantium itself. The angel of pestilence overshadowed the land with his deadly wing, and the growing depopulation of the country prepared the way for Albanian immigration. The local barons in virtual independence fought out their petty feuds. It is recorded in the Aragonese chronicle that, in the days when the archbishop of Salerno was acting as bailie during the captivity of Robert, a knight of Burgundy named Louis de Chafor, with le Petit de Vilaine and other companions, made himself master of the castle of Arkadia during the absence of its lord, and seized the persons of his wife and daughter, whom with the castle they held up to ransom. Such an episode gained a mention in a summary record because of the great reputation and influence of Érard Lenoir. But otherwise no records exist of these years of anarchy, which the imagination of the traveller who surveys the keeps and battlements which crown, like nests of predatory birds, the escarpments of the historic mountains of Morea, may complete with scenes of gay romance or bloody raid at will. A sinister twilight broods over the paths where the gods once walked with men, and the storied hills and valleys pass under a mist of silence. It was a blessing for the neglected peninsula when the strong and capable

Manuel Cantacuzenus took over the administration of the Byzantine province as Despot of Mistra, concluded peace with the remnant of the Franks, who eventually made common cause with him against the Catalans of the duchy, drove off the Turkish pirates and established an administration to which the barons soon began to look as the real power in the land.

The history of the Catalan dominion in Athens was uneventful under the first vicars-general appointed by Frederick III. of Sicily, Ramon Bernardi, James, the son of Alfonso Fadrique, and Gonsales Ximenes d'Arenos. But the death of Gautier de Brienne, who fell fighting the English as constable of France in 1351, relieved them from any fear of a resuscitation of his pretensions. His title it is true passed to Sohier, the son of his sister Isabella and Gautier d'Enghien, and the fiefs of Argos and Nauplia were inherited by Guy, her second son.[1] But the family of Enghien was never in a position to vindicate its claims. The removal from the scene of the most formidable enemy of the Catalans, who had now declined in numbers and were degenerating into habits of luxury and self-indulgence, may have tempted them to contemplate extension towards the Isthmus, and rumours had reached Acciajuoli that preparations were being made in Aragon for an expedition to Greece. The Pope had strongly urged upon the powerful seneschal the duty of saving Achaia from the unbelievers, and he in turn had impressed upon Robert the necessity of appointing a really capable vicar. The Turks had fully realised the importance of Corinth as a basis for the ultimate absorption of

[1] Of her two other sons, John became Count of Lecce, and Louis Count of Conversano.

the Morea, and the hard-pressed inhabitants despatched an envoy to Naples, a certain Luigi, who had held and defended the castle of St. George at his own costs, to plead their cause. Their previous letters, they complained, had met with no response; their lands were falling out of cultivation, depopulated by the emigration of the scared inhabitants, who were suffering for their loyalty to the dynasty. If help did not come soon they must inevitably fall into the hands of a relentless enemy. Robert in this crisis turned for assistance to Acciajuoli, as the one man able and willing to deal with the situation, and invested him with the captanate of Corinth and all its appurtenances[1] by a rescript, dated at Bari the 21st of April 1358. At the same time he annulled all previous concessions made in the captanate, remitted arrears of taxation, and summoned the peasantry who had emigrated to return to their domiciles. A few months later he also exempted Niccolo from any obligations of feudal service due for his possessions in the Morea other than Corinth.

The magnitude of the possessions of Niccolo Acciajuoli is witnessed by the will which he drew up in September 1358, before starting for Avignon on an important mission from the King and Queen. This document is of great length, and the grandiloquence of its style is in keeping with the taste for magnificence which in him was no affectation, though it exasperated many of his Florentine contemporaries and inspired Boccaccio to write of him that he believed himself destined to take part in the councils of the gods. It will be sufficient here to refer to

[1] "Mero mixtoque imperio et gladii potestate." Rescript published by Buchon, *N. R. H.*, ii. p. 143.

such of his dispositions as directly or indirectly affect Achaia. His eldest son Lorenzo was dead. Three sons, "legitimate and natural," survived him, Angelo, Benedetto and another Lorenzo, who was perhaps the natural son. He had further adopted the children of two kinsmen, Angelo, the son of Alamanno di Monte, and Rainerio or Nerio, the son of Jacopo di Donato. On Angelo, the eldest of his own blood, to whom he had already ceded the countship of Malta, devolved, subject to the approval of his royal master, his hereditary charge of grand seneschal and master of the household; the countship of Melfi, and the towns associated with it in Basilicata; Tropea, Seminara, and Ghiraci in Calabria; Nocera, Lettere, and a number of other fiefs; his domains in Cava and Apratina; his Sicilian property in Messina and Palermo to be held in tail male; and, finally, the noble city of Corinth, with all its appurtenances, and all his domains and castles in the principality of Achaia, except those which were especially reserved for his adopted son Angelo di Alamanno. To the latter he left all the lands in Achaia which had formerly belonged to the grand constable, Niccolo Ghisi,[1] on condition that he should succeed in securing the hand of the daughter and heiress of the Duke of the archipelago, Fiorenza Sanudo, who had just been left a widow by the death of Giovanni dalle Carceri. Should the marriage not be concluded, he was to inherit the castle of Vulcano (Messene) and a number of estates in the neighbourhood of Calamata. His sons Benedetto and Lorenzo were provided with ample estates in the kingdom of Naples. To his adopted son Nerio he left property

[1] This is apparently the meaning of "qui fuerunt magni comitis dicti principatus."

near Nocera. Princely provision was made for his widow and large legacies were assigned to his sisters Lapa and Andreina, the latter the wife of Charles d'Artois. There were numerous bequests to ecclesiastical foundations and especially to the Certosa of S. Lorenzo, and among them was provision for the construction by the two Angelos within three years of his death of a Benedictine monastery at Petoni, in the captanate of Calamata, with a prior and twelve monks adequately endowed, who were to say masses for his soul.[1]

It appears from a letter addressed to him in 1359 from Avignon that Niccolo at this time contemplated the organisation of a naval expedition which he was to lead in person against the Turks, in defence of the countries where he had such great interests at stake. But the number and extent of his responsibilities in Italy and grave affairs of state made it impossible for him to leave Italy, especially after the death of Louis of Tarentum in 1362, when Joan contracted a new marriage with the young James of Aragon, titular King and son of the last reigning King of Majorca, who does not appear to have ever asserted the claims to Achaia which he might legitimately have advanced. Robert of Tarentum retained the sovereignty and was *de facto* Prince until his death in 1364. It was, however Niccolo Acciajuoli who really ruled, so far as any effectual government can be said to have been exercised from Naples. It was he who in 1360 induced the Pope to nominate his kinsman, Giovanni di Donato, the brother of his adopted son Nerio, to the vacant see of Patras. The new archbishop firmly upheld the independence which

[1] Buchon, *N. R. H.*, ii. pp. 161–198, copied from the MS. of the Certosa.

his predecessors had claimed, but his ambitions were rather political than ecclesiastical and, as became a scion of a practical race of business men, he contemplated in the first place the advancement of the family interest in the Morea.

In the will of Niccolo special dispositions had been made in favour of his adopted son Angelo, on condition that he should be successful in securing the hand of Fiorenza Sanudo, the heiress of the archipelago. Her father, Duke Giovanni, died in 1362. Fiorenza as widow of Giovanni dalle Carceri was guardian of his only son Niccolo, who succeeded him as triarch in Eubœa. The young Duchess was thus a rich matrimonial prize. But Venice had been watching her suitors with jealous eyes in her anxiety to prevent the Genoese from extending their influence over the islands. The Sanudi had more than once owed great obligations to the Doge for protection which as Venetian citizens they were entitled to crave, and Fiorenza had been induced to give an undertaking that she would not contract a second marriage without the consent of the republic, to which the establishment of a Florentine Acciajuolo in Naxos, reasserting and confirming the feudal link with Achaia and Naples, was hardly more acceptable than the advent of a Genoese Ricanelli from Chios. The archbishop of Patras was at the same time intriguing to secure her hand for his brother Nerio, now appointed Chamberlain to Marie de Bourbon, while Venice, in order to retain a hold upon the Eubœan triarchy as well as upon the Cyclades, instructed her agents to arrange a union between the widow and some collateral member of the house of Sanudo. The archbishop addressed himself to Robert of Tarentum

and to Queen Joan, who reminded the Doge that Naxos was vassal to the titular Emperor, and therefore claimed full freedom of action for the Duchess. The reply of Venice to these representations was that Fiorenza was a Venetian citizen, and that the Emperor had shown himself wholly unable to afford the duchy the protection due from a sovereign. The signoria meanwhile adopted a drastic manner of settling the question by forcibly removing Fiorenza to Crete, where she yielded perhaps not unwillingly to the authority of the Doge, and bestowed her hand upon Niccolo Spezzabanda, the son of Guglielmo Sanudo of Negripont and grandson of Duke Marco II. If the hopes of the archbishop and his brother were thwarted by this somewhat arbitrary procedure on the part of Venice, Nerio was enabled before long to secure a foothold in the Morea by the purchase from Marie of Bourbon of the barony of Vostitza and Nivelet, which she had acquired as a patrimony for her son, for whom after her husband's death she began to have wider ambitions.

About the time when the Acciajuoli became a preponderating element in Achaia, another Italian house founded a new petty dynasty in the Ionian Islands under the auspices of Robert of Tarentum. Guglielmo Tocco, who was governor of Corfu for the Angevines from 1328 to 1335, had married Marguerita Orsini, the sister of the Despots Nicholas and John of Cephalonia and Epirus, and had acquired with her hand half of the island of Zante. The Epirote despotate was practically absorbed by the Servians, and the last male of the Cephalonian line, Nicephorus, died in 1358. Leonardo Tocco, the son of Guglielmo, who was in the household of Robert of Tarentum in

the year 1353, then assumed the title of Count of Cephalonia and Zante, and was created a Count Palatine by his patron. His marriage with the daughter of Niccolo Acciajuoli's sister Lapa[1] was no doubt favourable to his ambitions, and he before long acquired possession also of Leucadia with its fortress of Sta. Maura, and took the additional title of Duke of Leucadia and lord of Vonitza. His successors eventually recovered possession of many of the old Epirote territories on the mainland.

Robert of Tarentum died in 1364. He left no children, and his brother Philip succeeded to his title to the Empire and his rights in Romania, claiming therefore not only the sovereignty over but also the immediate inheritance of Achaia. He despatched an envoy to the Morea with letters to the barons, who met at Clarenza and agreed to send Centurione Zaccaria to Tarentum to invite from the Prince the customary oath of fidelity to the usages of the principality. Philip then appointed a bailie to receive the homage of the barons who had recognised his title. On the other hand, Robert's widow, whose son Hugh of Galilee had been excluded from the succession in Cyprus, hoped to find compensation for him in Achaia, and while she could count on the loyalty of some of her late husband's officers in charge of strong positions there, she was well aware that Philip had no means of vindicating his rights by force. During a parley, Guillaume de Talay, captain of Zonklon, detained Philip's bailie, Simone del Poggio, a prisoner in the name of Marie de Bourbon, and internal warfare thus once more broke out among

[1] Lapa Acciajuoli married Manente di Buondelmonti, and their daughter Maddalena became the wife of Leonardo Tocco.

the Frankish partisans.[1] She obtained support from Peter Lusignan, who was ready to assist his nephew in an enterprise which left his own claims to Cyprus uncontested. An expedition was accordingly organised with the object of reducing the barons of the opposing faction to submission.

A fortunate accident has preserved from destruction a document which was drawn up for Marie de Bourbon in the year which elapsed between her second husband's death and that of the grand seneschal, containing a list[2] of the castles of Achaia, both those in the domain of the Prince, and those occupied by the barons. It had long been the practice to divide the principality into three provinces, namely, Morea, including the old Achaia and Elis: Escorta, corresponding roughly with the confines of the ancient Arcadia, portions of which however were now once more in the possession of the Greeks; and Calamata, which comprehended Messenia, and extended to the spurs of Taygetus, occupied by the Slavonian tribes, who practically independent nominally recognised the governor of Mistra. In this document the provinces are increased to four by the subdivision of Morea into the "plain of Morea," the maritime plains on the west, and Vlisiri (Grisera)

[1] *A. C.*, 690–695. To be received with caution. But the facts here recorded fit in with other historical evidence.

[2] This list was found among the archives at Malta, during the researches made at the instance of Dr. Hopf, serving as a wrapper to a volume of "conti antiche della ricetta generale dell' anno 1561." It must have been made out during the life of Niccolo Acciajuoli, who is referred to as the grand seneschal, and as being in possession of Vulcano, which passed at his death to his adopted son Angelo, but after the death of Robert of Tarentum in September 1364, inasmuch as the castles in the princely domain are referred to as in the possession of "Madama." It testifies to the magnitude of the Acciajuoli domains, and confirms the disappearance of all the families of the original incumbents. It is published by Hopf in his *Chroniques Gréco-Romanes*, and is reproduced with some annotations in Appendix I., note 16.

practically coterminous with Triphylia. It is significant, in view of the attitude which he now adopted, that in the list of the barons holding castles is included the archbishop of Patras, whereas in the list drawn up for the Empress Catherine by Bojano, he is not referred to among the vassals.

What part the grand seneschal took in the dispute between Philip and his sister-in-law can only be left to conjecture. Unable to return to the Morea in person he appointed his kinsman, Jacopo the son of Donato, in January 1365, to be his vicar in Corinth and Achaia,[1] and, on the death of the archbishop of Patras some months later, he was successful in obtaining from the Pope the nomination of his adopted son Angelo di Alamanno, who had renounced matrimonial ambitions and entered the Church, in place of the candidate supported by Venice, to the highest ecclesiastical office in the peninsula and the wealthy barony which accompanied the see. At the end of the same year his brilliant and strenuous career was cut short by death at the comparatively early age of fifty-five.[2]

Few men have accomplished more or met with such universal success in such ambitious and critical enterprises, as this son of an illegitimate member of the great Florentine banking-house, whose life-story affords one of the earliest illustrations of the influence which the command of great resources can exercise in political life. On such a personality the verdicts of his contemporaries will naturally differ very widely. While on the one hand it is recorded of him that his personal tastes and habits were simple and unaffected,

[1] In the diploma of appointment Donato is described as his nephew. Buchon, *N. R. H.*, ii. 198.

[2] November 8, 1365. Buchon, *N. R. H.*, ii. 203.

a brilliant man of letters, who had in early life received acknowledged benefits from him, afterwards reviled the magnificent founder of the Certosa in unmeasured terms as a would-be Mecænas, a dishonest Midas and a satellite of criminals, while a serious historian of his native city reproached him with exhibiting the characteristics of a modern Sardanapalus. Boccaccio, who while still a boy had accompanied his father to Naples, where the brilliant life of the young Princes of the Angevine court suggested the scene which he has reproduced in his Fiametta, remained there till after he had grown to manhood and became intimate with Niccolo, who befriended him in the days when fortune was his foe.[1] But the poet's gratitude was not proof against the test of time. His father appears to have been in partnership with the Bardi, who were at one time associated in business with the Acciajuoli. When however the latter house, whose branch establishments throughout the Levant enabled them to develop their operations with phenomenal success, in course of time eclipsed the older firm of Bardi, which was practically ruined by the English king's repudiation of his debts and the misgovernment of Gautier de Brienne, Boccaccio no longer found anything good to say of his former friend and patron.[2] There was at least one reconciliation, and his own correspondence makes it clear that in 1363 he was invited to Naples to place his brilliant pen at the service of the senes-

[1] He describes himself as "inimico della fortuna," in a flattering letter, addressed to Niccolo in 1341. (Buchon, *N. R. H.*, ii. 114.)

[2] Mr. St. Clair Baddeley in his *Robert the Wise and his Heirs* (pp. 260–1) has suggested that the family connection of Boccaccio with the Bardi accounts in a great measure for his change of tone, and that the same motive underlies the carping hostility of the Villani, who were also associated with the ruined firm.

chal. But offended at the treatment he received there he denounced the career he had been summoned to glorify, and indited the well-known invective which does as little credit to the author as to the subject.

Niccolo Acciajuoli was buried in the subterranean chapel which he had constructed as a mausoleum under the church of his Certosa, where his marble effigy sculptured by the contemporary hand of Orcagna faithfully reproduces the typical strong features of the great seneschal, lying under a canopy in full armour on his bier. Close by lie his father, his sister Lapa, and Lorenzo, the son of so great promise. How many of those who look on this fine and suggestive work of the fourteenth century realise what manner of man he was who lies beneath it, or are aware of the marvellous record of his thirty years of strenuous achievement and the associations which link his name with the glory that was Greece!

Angelo Acciajuoli succeeded him both at Corinth and in the other titles which, in accordance with his will, were bequeathed to the eldest son. The continued possession of the captanate of Corinth, however, required the confirmation of the legitimate overlord, and this Philip of Tarentum duly accorded to Angelo in a diploma dated the 7th of November 1366,[1] in which he styles himself Emperor, Despot of Romania, Prince of Achaia and Tarentum. In 1371 Philip erected the captanate into a county Palatine in favour of Angelo and his heirs. Angelo had however already in 1367 recalled Jacopo from Corinth and replaced him by Nerio, to whom he mortgaged the barony. His descendants never redeemed it, and Nerio remained in possession, linking up the Isthmus with

[1] Buchon, *N. R. H.*, ii. p. 204.

his barony of Vostitza, and succeeding to the paramount position in the Morea acquired by his adoptive father.

As Niccolo Acciajuoli was indebted for the foundation of his fortunes in the Morea to Catherine de Valois, so Nerio, the favourite of Marie de Bourbon, owed it to her that he was enabled in 1364 to become the purchaser of Vostitza, and thus first acquire a footing in the land where he was destined to conduct the fortunes of his house to a still more triumphant issue. He must therefore have found himself in a somewhat difficult situation when Marie and her son Hugh, early in 1366, conducted a considerable army of mercenaries recruited in Cyprus and Provence to the peninsula, and found themselves opposed by his adoptive brother, Angelo, archbishop of Patras, who, realising that his autonomy was menaced, took up the cause of Philip of Tarentum. The archbishop could only set against the 6000 horsemen and all the infantry of which the invading army is reported to have been composed, a little force of 700. But he was fortunate in being able to command the services of a very remarkable man, who had already won his spurs and scars both in Italy and in fighting the Turks, and who was destined to become one of the greatest, if not the greatest of all the captains of Venice, namely, the illustrious Carlo Zeno, now a canon of Patras, where he had in early days received a cure of souls from the Pope. He valiantly defended the citadel of Patras, and by his skilful dispositions not only compelled Hugh to raise the siege and withdraw, but was enabled himself to take the offensive, and eventually to drive the invaders altogether out of northern Achaia, and carrying the war into the enemy's quarters

to lay siege to the castle at Zonklon. According to the Aragonese chronicle assistance was invited and obtained from the Enghiens of Argos and Nauplia, who were bound to the Lusignans by ties of relationship. The distracted principality was thus once more a prey to the raids and forays of foreign mercenaries. At this crisis it happened that Amedeo VI., Count of Savoy, touched at Modon on his way to Constantinople, with an army of French and Italian troopers, carried in ships hired from Genoa and Marseilles, in response to an appeal from his kinsman, the Emperor Johannes V., who, hard pressed by the Ottoman Turks and seeking for alliances, had been treacherously detained as a prisoner by the Prince of Bulgaria with the connivance of his own undutiful son Andronicus. This new crusade, brilliantly conducted by the chivalrous Amedeo, gave the tottering empire a fresh lease of life. He succeeded in driving the Turks out of Gallipoli, and after a hard campaign against the Bulgarians, effected the Emperor's release.

At Modon messengers reached him from Marié, who craved his assistance in the name of his wife, her niece, Bonne de Bourbon. He at once proceeded to Zonklon and compelled the beleaguering army to raise the siege. After listening to the representations of the archbishop he offered his services as arbitrator, and by the terms of his award the Empress widow and her son renounced all further claims on Patras, while Angelo in return for the recognition of his independence agreed to pay an indemnity. Carlo Zeno was sent to Clarenza to raise the necessary funds and announce the conclusion of peace. The dissatisfaction expressed at the result of what he

described as a betrayal by a certain Messire Simon,[1] led to a challenge from Carlo Zeno, which he refused to abandon when directed to do so by the archbishop, who consequently deprived him of his ecclesiastical position. Circumstances had however long since made him a soldier, and not a churchman. Readily resigning his benefices, he married a wealthy lady of Patras and proceeded to the court at Naples, where Philip appointed him his vicar in Achaia. He thereupon returned, and establishing himself at Clarenza, held the northern section of the principality for Philip till the year 1369, while Hugh of Galilee remained paramount in the south. The subsequent vicissitudes of his remarkable career belong to Venetian history. The ambition of Marie and her son to extend their authority over Coron and Modon brought them into conflict with Venice, and the peace with the archbishop appeared to be compromised when the death of King Peter of Cyprus in 1369 created a diversion, and the minority of his son offered Hugh of Galilee a prospect of recovering his position in that island. He hastened therefore to make his peace with Venice, and claimed the regency in Cyprus. But here also his hopes were doomed to disappointment and, having lost the vantage-ground which he had acquired in the Morea, he formally renounced the guardianship of Peter II. at Rome in January 1370, and on the 4th of March in that year he was glad to sign an agreement with Philip of Tarentum by which, in return for an annual payment of 6000 florïns, he and Marie of Bourbon abandoned all their claims in Achaia, save his mother's legi-

[1] Hopf conjectures Simon d'Ormoy, to whom the grand seneschal had conceded fiefs in Achaia.

timate rights to Calamata, as widow of a reigning Prince.[1]

Philip II. of Tarentum remained sole ruler of Achaia, where his bailie, Baldassare de Sorba, a Genoese, found his position no sinecure. It was not made easier for him by his nationality, in view of the inherited difficulties with the Venetians, under whose protection the archbishop of Patras, now a Piacentini of Parma, had placed his barony which was efficiently guarded by two of their fighting galleys. But the Prince did not long survive the settlement contracted with his sister-in-law, and died at Naples in 1373. Although he was twice married, first to the widow of Charles of Durazzo, and secondly to Elizabeth of Hungary, all his children died in infancy, and the succession to his rights and titles was claimed by Francis, Duke of Andria, who had married Philip's sister Margaret after the death of her first husband, Edward Balliol of Scotland, on behalf of their son Jacques de Baux. Queen Joan however, as sovereign in Italy, declined to recognise Philip's nephew as universal heir, and the Duke of Andria, attempting to make good his son's claims to Tarentum by force, was defeated and compelled to fly the country. Nor did the prospects of the new titular Emperor seem at this period more favourable in Achaia, where the barons, whose one ambition was to be left to themselves, determined to offer their homage to Joan. With this object Leonardo Tocco, Count of Cephalonia, Érard Lenoir, Centurione Zaccaria, and Misito of Escorta were despatched to treat with her as plenipotentiaries.

[1] The tomb of Marie de Bourbon, who resided at Naples, and died in 1387, is in the church of Sta. Chiara in that city.

The Queen accepted the offer, and assumed the title of Princess of Achaia. She did not long retain it in person, and the brief period of her administration, exercised through her bailie Francesco di Sanseverino, was devoted to cultivating improved relations with Venice. Joan was now fifty years of age, and the early death of her third husband James of Aragon had left her once more a widow. In such troublesome times as those in which her latter years were cast a queen with many enemies stood in need of a strong arm to defend her, and as she had no surviving children the position of a prince-consort at Naples was one which offered great opportunities to the ambitious. Her choice of a protector fell upon Otho of Brunswick, a prominent leader in the band of English and German soldiers of fortune who had come to Italy under the command of Albert Stertz, and a companion-in-arms of John Hawkwood, who became famous as the captain of that company of free-lances. Soon after their marriage she invested her young and martial husband with the principalities of Tarentum and Achaia. But in the distracted condition of affairs at home it was evident that his absence from Italy could not be contemplated, and that his rule in the Morea could only be exercised by deputy.

With the transfer of authority to the knights of Rhodes as his lessees in the peninsula, the history of Achaia enters upon a new and final phase. The succeeding epoch of conflicting claims and provisional administrations lies beyond the period covered by the chronicles, and beyond that of the more or less legitimate Frankish Princes. Others were still to bear the title for years to come as Princes *in partibus*,

and two more at least were actually to reign as successful adventurers. For this final phase ample historic materials may be found in the Venetian archives and the last Byzantine writers, if the personal touch of the chronicler is wanting. Indeed the decline and fall of the Frankish dynasties might well form the subject of a separate study. It can, however, only be dealt with very summarily here in a concluding chapter.

CHAPTER XIV

THE EPILOGUE

OTHO OF BRUNSWICK AND THE KNIGHTS OF RHODES—JACQUES DE BAUX AND THE NAVARRESE COMPANY—PIERRE DE SAN SUPERAN—CENTURIONE ZACCARIA—THE GREEK RESTORATION

WITH the exception of a brief visit paid by Urban V. to the city of the Apostles, the Popes had now been for upwards of seventy years absentees under French protection in Avignon. But the prayers and exhortations of two enthusiastic and visionary women, Bridget, the widow of the Swede Olaf Gudmarson, and Catherine, the daughter of a Sienese dyer, had at length borne fruit. The Swedish sybil who long haunted the desolation of Rome had passed away, but the Tuscan saint, who had been deputed as envoy from Italy to Avignon, was not yet thirty years of age when she witnessed the return of Gregory XI. as he entered the almost depopulated city from the Ostian Way by the Gate of St. Paul on the 17th of January 1377. The banner of the Church was then borne before him by the future grand-master of the military order of St. John, Juan Fernandez de Heredia, who had commanded the fleet of galleys which escorted the Pontiff to Italy.

To this remarkable man, illustrious no less for his patronage of learning than for his zeal in the cause

of his order against the infidel, Otho of Brunswick entrusted the administration of Achaia, when shortly after his arrival in Italy Heredia was appointed to the grand-mastership. A lease of the principality was conceded to the knights for a term of five years, during which they were engaged to pay an annual sum of 4000 ducats from the usufruct.[1] According to the Aragonese chronicle which, having been compiled for Heredia himself, must be accepted as accurate with regard to these arrangements, a brother of the order, Daniele di Caretto, was despatched as bailie to Achaia to make known the decision of the sovereign Prince and to receive the homage of the barons at Clarenza, and there he soon afterwards died. The galleys which had convoyed the papal retinue transported Heredia and his knights, supported by mercenaries from Naples, to the Morea where he was well received by the notables. His ambition was by no means confined to the reorganisation of the principality. He contemplated the reconquest of all the territories which had drifted away from their western masters. Thus his first objective was Lepanto, where an Albanian chieftain, Ghin Bua Spatas, in cordial relations with the Turks, had now established himself. Supported by the archbishop of Patras he succeeded in recapturing this important fortress, which was once again incorporated in the administration of Achaia. Thence he advanced upon Arta, the old capital of the despotate of Epirus, which Spatas had made his headquarters. But the Albanian had prepared an ambush into which the grand-master unwarily fell, to endure the humiliation of being sold

[1] Such a scheme was no new one. The occupation and administration of the Frankish state by the knights of St. John had already in 1355 been proposed by Innocent VI. to the grand-master Cornilhan at Rhodes.

for a price to the Turks, who anticipated the realisation of a handsome profit from his ransom. Deprived of their capable and zealous leader the knights of St. John once more lost Lepanto in 1380, and about the same time were brought into conflict with a still more redoubtable enemy in the company of Navarrese mercenaries in the service of Jacques de Baux which now entered the Morea from the duchy of Athens. The 9000 ducats derived annually from the land tax in the principality were barely adequate to meet the cost of the rent which the knights had undertaken to pay, the expenses of their garrisons and the subventions to the barons, not to mention heavy payments at one time made to these Navarrese for their co-operation. Moreover, in spite of several tentatives at a composition, they were unable as vicars for Otho of Brunswick permanently to attract to their side the formidable adventurers who had sold their swords to a rival, and who speedily overran a great part of the principality. They were therefore compelled to renounce the ambition which Heredia had inspired of establishing a second Rhodes in the Morea and withdrew before the term of their five years' lease had run out.

From Naples no assistance against the new invaders of Achaia had been forthcoming, for the great schism of the Church had brought disaster to Joan and her husband. Gregory XI. had died a year after his return to Italy. In the sacred college the ultramontane cardinals were in an overwhelming majority, though divided by acute rivalry between the French and the Limousin groups. Scared into a hasty decision, as they afterwards asserted, by the menacing attitude of the Roman populace, which feared a fresh

withdrawal to Avignon, and convinced that neither of the ultramontane parties would support a candidate of the rival faction, the sacred college broke the tradition of many years and concurred in electing an Italian, Bartolommeo di Prignano, archbishop of Bari, who ascended the papal throne for which the future showed him to have possessed few qualifications as Urban VI. Otho of Brunswick was despatched to Rome to convey to the new Pope, a Neapolitan by birth, the congratulations of the Queen, who counted on his support for the design which she had formed of settling the reversion of the Angevine throne on her young husband. But Joan was too closely and inevitably identified with the French party in the Church, whose uncompromising hostility the Pope had good reason to appreciate immediately after his election, for her advances to be well received, and the Duke was treated with scant ceremony. The jealousies of the ultramontanes had placed an Italian at the head of the Church, but the cardinals had no sooner realised that his nationality involved the definite and permanent removal of the curia from Avignon than they all united against the creature of their compromise. So little sympathy did the person of the new pontiff inspire that even the four Italian cardinals were prepared to agree to the invalidation of Urban's election on the plea that it had been carried out under the menacing pressure of the Roman mob.[1] The schismatic college lost no time in electing an Antipope in the person of the cardinal archbishop of Geneva, who took the name of Clement VII. In his difficulties Urban perceived the advantage of

[1] It was also asserted that the archbishop of Bari had only been elected at that moment of panic in view of an undertaking given by him that he would not accept election.

having a dependent on the throne of Naples deriving his authority, as Charles of Anjou had done, from the investiture of the Church. The sympathies manifested for the French party by Joan, who in a critical time had owed everything to the Avignon Popes, afforded him his opportunity. No sooner had the tide turned in his favour in Rome than he summoned her kinsman, Charles, the son of Louis of Durazzo, and grandson of John of Gravina, who had been brought up at the court of King Louis of Hungary, to put into execution a sentence of deposition which he pronounced against the Queen on the 13th of April 1380. She replied by formally adopting as her successor Louis of Anjou, the brother of the French King, a choice which the Antipope at Avignon eagerly confirmed. In Italy however the cause of Urban and the arms of Charles of Durazzo triumphed, though the churches at Rome had to be stripped and their sacred vessels thrown into the melting-pot to provide the sinews of war. Otho of Brunswick fought manfully to defend his Queen, but was defeated and taken prisoner, while Joan herself, besieged in the Castello del Uovo, was compelled to surrender in the summer of 1381, and Charles was invested with the kingdom of the Sicilies. In the footsteps of the conquerer followed Jacques de Baux who during the confusion which prevailed in the kingdom was enabled to gain possession of Tarentum.

Heredia, now released from captivity,[1] but deprived by Urban of his grand-mastership, withdrew to Avignon, where Clement was rallying partisans to the support of Louis of Anjou, who with all the power of France behind him was preparing to contest

[1] He was back in Rhodes in the beginning of 1381.

the throne of Naples. His arrival in Italy the following year with a numerous army, in which Amedeo of Savoy held a command, was the death-warrant of the unfortunate Queen, too dangerous to the ambitions of Charles III. to be allowed to live. Removed from Naples to the castle of Muro, she there suffered the same fate as her first husband Andrew of Hungary, and was strangled by the command of the king with a silken cord. Five years later Charles himself was destined to perish by the hand of an assassin. Misfortune had indeed dogged the footsteps of the Neapolitan house of Anjou, and shade after shade had prematurely descended in atonement to the manes of the Hohenstaufens.

The disaster of Joan and her husband was the opportunity of Jacques de Baux. The fourteenth century had witnessed the rise of those professional military adventurers who were known in Italy as condottieri. Companies of free-lances who sold their swords to the highest bidder then first began to play an important part in the political system. The old spirit of chivalry which had grown up during the crusades had disappeared with the enthusiasms which called it into being, and the noble and the knight without any occupation save the profession of arms or any definite cause to uphold had degenerated into the mercenary captain. The new communes and commercial republics, with a burgher class rapidly acquiring wealth by their industry, but unaccustomed to the use of arms, gave employment to the wandering troopers, to whom they entrusted their defence and the promotion of their interests, instead of maintaining standing armies recruited from their own citizens. Such were the bands of Laudon, of Hans

of Bongard, of Albert Stertz and Hawkwood. Such a band had been recruited in his own country by Louis of Navarre, better known as Louis d'Évreux, the son of Philip III. of Navarre, during the war which broke out between his brother Charles II. and Charles V. of France. On the restoration of peace in 1366 he married Joan, the daughter and heiress of that Charles of Durazzo who fell a victim of the vengeance of King Louis of Hungary, and it would appear that a number of his troopers accompanied him to Naples when he there took up his residence. A great part of the Epirote possessions which his wife had inherited had been occupied by the Albanian chief Thopia, who in 1368 succeeded in carrying the rich commercial port of Durazzo itself. The story of the various attempts made by Louis d'Évreux to expel the intruders is lost in obscurity, but it appears that in the years 1375 and 1376 a great final effort was made to dislodge the Albanians, and a number of fresh recruits were engaged for service there with the assistance of his brother Charles III. of Navarre. Louis himself appears to have died in 1376, probably while fighting in Albania, and the Navarrese then disappear from history until the year 1380, when the company reappears in the service of Jacques de Baux, engaged by him for the reconquest of his Greek principality, while he himself was occupied in the attempt to recover his Italian inheritance of Tarentum.[1] Mahiot de Coquerel, or Maiotto de Coccarelli as he

[1] In view of the subsequent researches of the learned Spanish scholar D. Antonio Rubio y Lluch (*Los Navarros en Grecia*. Barcelona, 1886) and the evidence he has gathered from the archives of the *Camara de Comptos* of Pampeluna, and other Spanish sources, I am compelled to dissent from the opinion expressed by Hopf as to the origin of the Navarrese Company, the connection of which with the band of Louis d'Évreux he denies. The subject is discussed more fully in note 17 of Appendix I.

is called in the Italian records, a chamberlain of the King of Navarre, who already in the days of Louis d'Évreux had been one of the principal leaders of the company, was appointed his bailie in Romania by Jacques de Baux, while the two chief military captains were Berard de Varvassa and Pierre de San Superan or St. Exupère, also known as Peter Bordo.[1] The knights of Rhodes were actually in occupation of Achaia as the lessees of Otho of Brunswick, and Maiotto, after first transporting the company to Corfu, which was annexed in the name of Jacques de Baux, selected the line of least resistance and advanced into the duchy, theoretically a vassal state of the principality, where a division of parties ensuing on the death of Frederick III. of Sicily and the contested succession to the kingdom and to Athens itself, seemed to offer a favourable opportunity for a successful raid.

During the precarious rule over Achaia of the absentee Angevine princes and the long interlude of the Catalan occupation in the duchy, the old relations between the two Frankish states were permanently interrupted. The history of Athens under the vice-regents of the Sicilian kings and the latter-day Florentine dukes lies really outside the scope of the present study, and will therefore only be very summarily outlined here up to the point at which the Frankish epoch in Achaia closes. In Eubœa also the feudal link with the principality had long been little more than a tradition, and the power of Venice and her bailies in Negripont had now completely overshadowed the semblance of authority to

[1] *i.e.* Peter of Bordeaux, of which city he had received citizenship from the hands of the Black Prince in 1371. (Hopf, *G. G.*, vol. vii. p. 12.).

which the triarchs made pretence in the interior of the island. Pietro dalle Carceri, who had united two-thirds of the Lombard possessions, and was the last Terziero to show some spirit of independence, died in 1340, and his son Giovanni being then still a minor, his widow assumed the regency and placed herself under the protection of Venice. Giovanni dalle Carceri married Fiorenza Sanudo, the heiress of Naxos and the Archipelago, but died soon afterwards in 1358, leaving an infant son, Niccolo, under the guardianship of a mother over whom, as has been seen in the previous chapter, Venice exercised a very efficient control. The Ghisis who owned the remaining third of the island remained also, in spite of occasional deflections, obedient servants of the republic on which they were dependent for galleys to protect their possessions in Tinos and Myconos as well as in Eubœa itself. A new stock of feudal nobles, bound by the ties of citizenship to Venice, had moreover grown up and achieved a position of influence in the island, such as the Tiberti and the Saracini, from which family Nerio Acciajuoli had chosen his bride. One further step was necessary to consolidate her power and guarantee her against any further apprehension of intrigues on the part of her untrustworthy neighbours beyond the Euripus, namely, the acquisition of Carystos, which strategical position she had made more than one attempt to acquire by purchase. After accepting a contract of sale in 1359, which he immediately afterwards repudiated, Bonifazio Fadrique, lord of Ægina and Carystos, finally transferred the latter together with Larmena to Venice in 1365 for a sum of 6000 ducats. The house of dalle Carceri became extinct in 1383, and the Ghisis of Eubœa died

out seven years later. There remained no other rival to dispute her possession of the island.

After a brief tenure of office in the duchy by Gonsalvo Ximenes d'Arenos in 1359, Frederick III. had despatched thither as vicar-general his seneschal Matteo Moncada, one of the most powerful and capable of his barons. But the internal situation in Sicily did not admit of his prolonged absence from the island, and after his recall the government remained in the hands of Roger de Luria, the marshal of Athens, a member of the family of the great admiral. A combination of menacing conditions confronted him. Domestic quarrels divided the Catalans, who were following the example of the Moreote barons and assuming an attitude of independence. The pressure of the Albanians on their borders, the dread of the advancing Turks, who under Murad I. had recently occupied Tzurulon and Didymoteichon, the hostility of the Despot at Mistra and of the Enghiens at Argos were for the moment outweighed by the more immediate danger of war with Venice and her bailie in Eubœa, for which the oppressive fiscal policy of Roger himself was mainly responsible. In these perplexities he adopted the desperate expedient of inviting the assistance of the Turks, and suffered them to occupy Thebes, which he thus took the opportunity of punishing for disaffection. The news of a Moslem occupation in the duchy produced consternation in the west and Frederick hastened to send Moncada back. He was successful in inducing the Turks to evacuate Thebes, and Roger de Luria, whose influence at this time quite overshadowed that of the rival house of Aragon, was in spite of his initial error once more provisionally entrusted with the administration. The

conditions of peace with Venice, which had remained in the state of a perpetually reviving truce, were renewed, but the republic was enabled to turn the occasion to account by now concluding the bargain with Bonifazio Fadrique for the transfer of Carystos, which had hitherto encountered unqualified opposition from the Catalans. Warned by former experience, Roger refrained from further entanglements with the Turks, and in 1367 beat off a piratical attack which they made on the city of Athens. His conspicuous services on this occasion, and the firmness with which he dealt with the anarchical barons, led to his definite appointment as vicar-general, which office he held until his death in 1371.

Towards the close of his administration the house of Enghien essayed to enlist the co-operation of Venice in one more attempt to recover the duchy from the demoralised Catalans, but the Signoria, which was not wanting in pleasant words of goodwill for the inheritors of the claims of Brienne, explained that the republic had renewed its truce with the duchy and could therefore offer no material support. Nevertheless Guy d'Enghien and his brothers did appeal to arms and, according to the Aragonese chronicle, the Count of Conversano, who was representing Philip of Tarentum in Achaia at the time when Hugh of Galilee withdrew to Cyprus, invaded the duchy and obtained temporary possession of the lower town of Athens. He was however unable to reduce the citadel, and sickness soon compelled him to withdraw.[1] In any case the efforts of the Enghiens remained consistently unsuccessful, and peace was eventually concluded on the understanding that

[1] *A. C.*, § 703.

Guy's infant daughter and heiress should be betrothed to John the son of Roger, who would eventually thus become lord of Argos and Nauplia in virtue of the title of his wife. The projected marriage was never realised. The young de Luria became, under circumstances which history has not recorded, the prisoner of the Count of Conversano, who after the death of Guy solicited the protection of Venice for his niece. In 1377 she was escorted to the Lagoons and married to the patrician Pietro Cornaro. Ten years later he died without issue, and Marie d'Enghien was compelled to sell her inheritance to the republic.

Meanwhile the rapid progress in Europe of Murad I., who had established his capital at Adrianople, reducing the hapless Johannes Palæologus to the humiliating position of a tributary, had thoroughly scared the western powers. By his brilliant campaign in 1366 the chivalrous Amedeo of Savoy had rescued the fallen Emperor from the clutches of his treacherous Bulgarian foes, and had for a moment checked the wave of Moslem advance. But his expedition overseas was only a passing episode, and as soon as he withdrew, the resistless tide rolled on. Like the last Baldwin when the Greeks were at his gates, the Greek Emperor in his turn now wandered through the courts of Europe, fruitlessly appealing for help, and in 1369, during the brief sojourn of Urban V. in Rome, he did homage to the pontiff and, in his desperate straits, consented to the union of the Churches. Urban was ready enough to accept his formal submission, but was able or willing to do little for him. On the other hand his more enterprising successor Gregory XI. took up the cause of

the threatened Frankish dynasties in Romania, and summoned all the states which had interests in the Levant to meet at a congress in September 1373 and discuss the project of a new crusade. Thebes was chosen as the place of meeting, a selection which not only indicated that the Catalans were restored to grace, but was also intended to insure the loyalty of that restless and unscrupulous element. The Pope's appeal was addressed both to the reigning and to the titular Emperor, the latter being at that time Philip of Tarentum, to the Kings of Hungary and Sicily, the regent in Cyprus, the republics of Venice and Genoa, the vicar-general of Athens, and the knights of Rhodes. Nerio Acciajuoli also received an invitation[1] and welcomed the occasion of his first public recognition as ruler of Corinth, which neither Angelo nor his heirs had shown any disposition to redeem. Together with such representatives of the greater powers as responded to the summons there appeared at Thebes Niccolo dalle Carceri, Duke of the Archipelago, Bartolommeo Quirini, bailie of Negripont, Tocco of Leucadia, Francesco Giorgio of Bodonitza, and Matteo Peralta as regent for the duchy. But no agreement was possible among so many discordant elements. So little in fact did the conference tend to any improvement in mutual relations in Romania, that in the following year the enterprising lord of Corinth, who had not neglected the opportunity afforded him for observing the demoralised state of the Catalan power, found a ready pretext for declaring war on the duchy, and flung his mercenaries into Megara, the half-way house on the road to Athens.

[1] As "dominus civitatis Corinthiensis."

On Peralta's death Louis, lord of Salona, the grandson of Alfonso Fadrique, was selected by the Catalan parliament to act as governor, and Frederick III. confirmed the appointment in 1376. In the following year the King himself died, leaving only a daughter, who was still under age, and an illegitimate son. Both in Sicily and Athens a strong party contested the legality not less than the expediency of the female succession. At the head of the party which opposed the rights of Maria in the duchy stood Louis Fadrique, the vicar-general, and with him were the sons of Roger de Luria, the Peraltas, the Puig-Paradines, and the majority of the greater feudatories. The legitimist party was led by the Marquis of Bodonitza, always a somewhat unwilling vassal of the Catalan state, and was also supported by Bonifazio Fadrique of Ægina, who had long been at feud with his brother. Peter IV. of Aragon contested the rights of Maria in Sicily in virtue of the provisions of the will of Frederick II., which excluded the succession of a princess, and the parliament of barons in the duchy invited him at the same time to assume the title of Duke of Athens and Neo-Patras. Peter accepted the proposal with alacrity, but the vicar-general whom he appointed, Dalman de Roccaberti, did not present himself until 1381, and in the meantime Jacques de Baux's Navarrese had seized the opportunity afforded by the internal divisions in the duchy to endeavour to make good for their employer a title which theoretically embraced all the states once vassal to Achaia. The party which opposed the claim of Aragon made their way easy, and it appears from a letter addressed by King Peter to Heredia that Niccolo dalle Carceri, growing restive under the tutelage of

Venice, also entered into negotiations with the leaders.[1] The Navarrese rapidly overran Bœotia and Attica. Galceran Peralta, marching to meet them, was defeated and taken prisoner. Thebes made no resistance, and Livadia fell after a brief defence in which its captain met his death. The Greeks, who had small cause to love the Catalans, in many cases opened the gates of the fortresses. There was a general exodus of refugees to Eubœa, which also lay at their mercy, as Venice was in no position to defend her interests after the deadly struggle with Genoa, which broke out in 1377 over the disputed possession of Tenedos, and remained memorable for the heroic deeds of the respective leaders Carlo Zeno and Ettore Pisani. It is possible that the friendly attitude of Niccolo dalle Carceri secured the island from invasion. His relations on this occasion with the Navarrese Company mark the last appearance of the familiar name of this historic Veronese family in the history of Romania. Salona held out bravely against the invaders, defended probably by Louis Fadrique in person and Zeitoun, another of his castles, was covered by the Count of Mitre,[2] who had fifteen hundred Albanians in his pay. Resistance was also maintained at a number of other isolated points. Galceran Peralta succeeded in effecting his escape, and got safely into the Acropolis at Athens where he put heart into the defenders. Making sorties

[1] Rubio y Lluch, *Los Navarros en Grecia*. Barcelona, 1886, p. 216. Peter complains of the incursions of Heredia's troopers.

Niccolo dalle Carceri was by tradition doubly the vassal of Achaia, both as triarch in Eubœa and as Duke of Naxos.

[2] It is not known who this Count of Mitre was. Mitre appears to be Demetriada. In a letter of Peter IV. he is also called "lo comte Micra," and in a list of the barons and prelates owing allegiance, he is said to have been entrusted with the royal banner "perque es natural vassall." (Rubio y Lluch, *Los Navarros en Grecia*, pp. 220 and 262.)

from the fortress, he soon recovered the city also, and eventually pressed the Navarrese so closely that, anticipating the speedy arrival of reinforcements from Aragon, they abandoned Attica and passed on into the Peloponnesus, before King Peter's viceroy reached the Piræus with his fleet. What attitude Nerio Acciajuoli at this critical moment assumed towards the adventurers who marched in the name of Jacques de Baux, and who must have either traversed or at any rate coasted along his territories, there is no evidence to show. If, in view of the designs which he himself cherished, satisfaction at the weakening of his Catalan neighbours inspired a benevolent neutrality, it was ill repaid by the attack on his barony of Vostitza, which was the first feat of arms of the Navarrese in the peninsula.

Maiotto de Coccarelli himself was not indisposed to come to terms with the knights of St. John, against their common enemy in the duchy, and it appears from the accounts of the order that certain payments were actually made to the company. But the majority of the Catalans refused to recognise any other master than Jacques de Baux. Heredia was still a prisoner and, discouraged by the hopelessness of their task with this powerful element in opposition, the Order abandoned the Morea to its fate. The Navarrese went on to Zonklon and took possession of the castle. If, as has been contended,[1] the fortress was now renamed Navarino, after its new masters, they had only to add an initial letter to the old name of St. Omer's castle. Using this position as a base, they made themselves masters of Calamata and Andrusa,

[1] By Hopf and others, probably erroneously. For the origin of the name of Navarino, see Appendix I., note 18.

the seat of the high court, and of late regarded as the capital of the principality. With the Venetian governors at Modon and Coron they entered into neighbourly relations and concluded a *modus vivendi*, which was signed by Maiotto as bailie of Achaia and Lepanto, and by San Superan as leader of the band. Varvassa early disappears from the scene, having perished at the hand of an assassin. Érard Lenoir of Arkadia, Zaccaria and Misito came to terms with them, and retained possession of their domains. The other baronies and fiefs, including the vast estates of the Acciajuoli, were divided among the new comers, while Maiotto held the crown lands for a phantom Prince. Thus without effort or opposition the Navarrese Company became and remained *de facto* masters in the Moreote principality. Jacques de Baux, in whose name the occupation had been effected, though summoned by Charles III. to surrender the territories of which he had taken possession, was also successful in retaining Tarentum until his death in 1383. He was then found to have followed the precedent set by Queen Joan and to have made a will in favour of Louis of Anjou.

In the duchy the company continued for a short time to hold Thebes and Livadia. Roccaberti had arrived in 1381 with a powerful fleet, and had restored some semblance of order there. But in the following year he was recalled, and Ramon di Villanova, who then acted for him, succeeded in expelling the other Navarrese garrisons. Corfu also about the same time rose against the officers who exercised authority in the name of the titular Emperor, and the notables offered their submission to Charles III. Four years later, after the assassination

of Charles in Hungary, the Captain of the Gulf, with the connivance of many of the leading citizens, took possession of the island for Venice, under whose rule it then permanently fell. The republic was rapidly enclosing the ruins of the Frankish states with a ring of outposts. Eubœa was practically hers, and the Cyclades and Sporades for the most part subject to her influence. Corfu at the entrance of the Adriatic was another link in a chain which ran through Modon and Coron to Argos and Nauplia, already under her protectorate and about to be purchased outright.

Meanwhile the astute and enterprising Florentine, who had recently added Megara to the narrow bounds of his domains on the Isthmus and who thoroughly appreciated playing the part of a feudal baron, watched his opportunities for further extension at the expense of the Catalans and, while enlisting additional mercenaries in his service with the ample revenues he derived from his trading establishments, maintained peace with the Navarrese in spite of considerable provocation, and established cordial relations with the Greeks at Mistra. Nor had he long to wait in order to find the necessary pretext for a quarrel. In 1382 Louis Fadrique of Salona and Zeitoun died, leaving an only daughter by his marriage with Helena, the daughter of Matthæus Cantacuzenus who, after having been for a brief period raised to the purple as co-Emperor with his father, had made his submission to Johannes V. and was suffered to succeed his younger brother Manuel as Despot of Mistra. Roccaberti, the vicar-general, was anxious to secure the hand of the child heiress for his own son, but the project did not meet with the approval of his sovereign. Nerio, assured of the

support of the other parties in the Morea, then proposed to the widow that she should bestow her daughter's hand on his brother-in-law Pietro Saracino of Eubœa. Helena, the daughter of an ex-Emperor, indignantly refused to entertain such a misalliance, and supported by the sons of Roger de Luria, to whom Roccaberti had entrusted the administration of the duchy on his return to Sicily, betrothed her daughter to a Servian princeling whose father ruled over a portion of Thessaly. The prospect of such a marriage excited consternation among both the Franks and the Greeks, and Nerio, posing as their champion and protesting against the introduction of the aggressive Servians into Salona, flung his mercenaries into the duchy. He cannot have disposed of very many troops, and those which he had were apparently Albanians and Turks, but the ease with which he accomplished his object shows to what a low ebb the Catalan power had fallen. The old fighting stock had disappeared and the feudatories were corrupted by indolence and luxury. The Lurias took the field in the quarrel of the Countess but, unprepared and inadequately supported, they were easily defeated and all the level country fell into the hands of Nerio, who is already in the year 1385 described in a Venetian state paper as "Lord of Corinth and the duchy." Many of the castles however which, as has been seen in the course of this history, were capable of resisting investment with very modest garrisons, still held out for a time and the Acropolis of Athens, into which Pierre de Pau succeeded in penetrating with reinforcements from Sicily, continued to defy Nerio's mercenaries until 1387, when this last fortress fell.

The Catalans, who had occupied the duchy for seventy years, were never numerically sufficient to really colonise the country, where they took no firm root and governed as a caste exclusively in their own interest. The one solitary act to be recorded to the credit of their administration was the establishment of a university in the city which had given culture to mankind,[1] but it may be doubted whether the native populations were suffered to participate in its advantages. They had never attempted to win the attachment of the original inhabitants, with whom the crafty Florentine had no doubt secretly opened communications. The early years of constant warfare had thinned the rank and file, and many of the families of the original conquerors had died out. In latter days their defensive forces were probably composed of mercenaries like those which garrisoned the castles of the barons in Morea. In the final struggle with Nerio many of the feudatories were killed and others, deprived of their fiefs, drifted away from the lost land and sought refuge in Spain or Sicily. After a brief space of time not a trace of their presence remained, though Catalan corsairs continued for many years to come to harass the shores of Romania. No single building or monument in Bœotia or Attica can be identified as perpetuating the memory of their sinister passage. Only their name survives to this day as a term of reproach in the mouths of a people who hardly realise its real historical significance.

The conqueror transferred his seat of government to Athens, and it is probable that this founder of a

[1] *Archivio della Corona de Aragon*, Reg. 1366, fol. 54. Quoted by Rubio y Lluch, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

new dynasty constructed the palace which about this time arose on the stately ruins of the Propylæa. The customs of Barcelona ceased to be the law of the land, Greek became once more the official language, and after an interval of nearly two hundred years a Greek archbishop was once more installed as a successor to Michael Acominatus. Nerio at the same time cultivated good relations with Venice, which lasted until a conflict of interests arose, and with the despotate in Laconia, which now passed from the Cantacuzeni to the Palæologi.

The first Despot Manuel, of whose able administration his father, the ex-Emperor turned monk, was the historian, after an unsuccessful attempt of Johannes V. to supersede him and at least two rebellions of the Laconian Greeks against his authority, triumphed over all his difficulties and by consistent firmness and moderation kept the unruly archons in order. He maintained peace with the Franks, with whom he co-operated in repressing the forays of the Catalans and the raids of the Turkish pirates, and he re-colonised the depopulated areas of his province with Albanians, who were now migrating in great numbers east and south from their debateable mountains. His long and efficient rule at Mistra closed with his death in 1380. His elder brother Matthæus, who for a brief period had worn the purple in Constantinople and after an ineffectual resistance to Johannes Palæologus had made his submission, succeeded and reigned for three years. But his son Demetrius endeavoured to throw off the bond of vassalage to Byzantium and was deposed by the Emperor in favour of his own son Theodorus Palæologus who, welcomed by the Greeks, was spared a long struggle for supremacy by the death

of his rival. He still further developed the colonising policy initiated by Manuel and is said to have introduced ten thousand Albanian families. But he committed the fatal error of engaging Turkish auxiliaries to support his authority against the local archons, who sought to limit his absolutist tendencies. To him Nerio Acciajuoli offered the hand of his eldest daughter Bartolommea, the most beautiful woman of her time.[1] His second daughter Francesca he gave to Carlo Tocco, Count Palatine of Cephalonia and Duke of Leucadia. By these matrimonial alliances he assured himself of the support of powerful neighbours against the Navarrese, whose enmity he rightly suspected after his successful annexation of the duchy which they had not been able to retain.

The death of Jacques de Baux in 1383 had left Achaia in the military occupation of the Navarrese with Maiotto de Coccarelli as bailie but without a Prince. It is true that by his will the title to the empire and all that it implied had passed to Louis of Anjou. But he also died a year later, leaving a son of only seven years who was manifestly unable to vindicate his claims. Meanwhile Charles III. was firmly established on the Angevine throne in Naples, and Coccarelli had nothing to lose by recognising his nominal suzerainty over the principality which the Navarrese regarded as their own by right of conquest. Marie de Bretagne, the mother and guardian of the young Louis, had meanwhile induced the Anti-pope Clement VII. to proclaim her son King of Naples in opposition to Charles III. and his patron Urban VI., and she discussed with Heredia, who since his liberation from captivity had remained at

[1] On the authority of Chalcocondylas.

Avignon, the terms of a fresh transfer of Achaia to the Order of St. John. The Grand-master, still recognised as such by the Antipope, before conducting any arrangement communicated with Coccarelli who in his doubtful position between the rival forces at Rome and Avignon stipulated for the maintenance of secrecy, but declared himself ready, provided the validity of the claims of Louis to the succession received satisfactory confirmation, to agree to the following arrangement. He would on the completion of their contract of purchase hand over to the knights of Rhodes the castles in the domain of the Prince, on the understanding that the Navarrese were suffered to retain possession of all the fiefs which they had appropriated, that the usages of Achaia should be respected, and that 70,000 ducats should be paid to the company as an indemnity for expenditure incurred by them in upholding the title of Jacques de Baux. It was by no means easy to give effect to the preliminary condition, as no doubt Coccarelli well knew, and during the protracted negotiations which ensued the pretensions of the Navarrese did not diminish. It was probably at this period, when his thoughts were absorbed in the prospect of a speedy return to the Morea, that Heredia began to collect the historical material for the archives of his order from which was eventually compiled the Aragonese chronicle, completed in 1393, and included in the first volume of his *Grant cronica de los conquisidores.*

Meanwhile information had reached Venice that Genoa was endeavouring to acquire by purchase from the Navarrese the port of Zonklon, the possession of which by her hereditary enemy would have entirely neutralised the value of her Peloponnesian outposts

at Modon and Coron. She therefore hastened to outbid the rival republic by offering 4000 ducats for the transfer of the castle to herself. Before anything could be settled with Coccarelli, whom it behoved to weigh cautiously the relative merits of the numerous advances which were being made to him, he died and the company without hesitation installed Pierre de San Superan as vicar in the principality. He rightly perceived the importance of securing the favour of Venice, without the assistance of whose maritime forces no claimant could reach Achaia, and his envoy negotiated a preliminary understanding with the republic, which was afterwards embodied in a definite agreement confirmed by the barons in parliament at Andrusa. Among the signatories the familiar names of Lenoir of Arkadia and Andronicus Asano Centurione appear, together with those of the new Navarrese feudatories. By this instrument the vicar and the notables undertook not to hand over Zonklon to any one, unless it were to the legitimate Prince of the land, and to accord Venice the right of pre-emption should they decide to abandon the country; an indemnity was to be paid for losses incurred by her during the invasion. Venice on the other hand promised the company her co-operation against all pretenders.

Heredia had not awaited a definite arrangement with the Navarrese before completing the purchase of Achaia from Marie de Bretagne.[1] But the contract was no sooner signed than it was opposed by two new pretenders to the principality, the claims to which seemed to grow more numerous as the probability of their realisation decreased. The first was Louis, Duke of Bourbon-Clermont, as heir of the titular Empress

[1] The terms of contract are not known.

Marie de Bourbon. The second was Amedeo VII. of Savoy and Piedmont, whose title was based on his succession to the rights which Margaret of Savoy, the daughter of Isabella Villehardouin, had made over to her father Philip. The second marriage of Amedeo with a sister of Érard Lenoir of Arkadia had no doubt stimulated his interest in the long dormant rights of his family. In consequence of their protests Clement VII. issued a bull annulling the contract concluded with Heredia,[1] and, realising that the external dangers which threatened the principality were only increased by the rivalry of so many pretenders with irreconcilable claims, he assumed the protectorate himself. He nominated as vicar-general and administrator Paolo Foscari, the archbishop of Patras, whom he instructed to take the Navarrese into his service, suffering them to retain all the territories they could recover from schismatic or infidel. The question of "Under which king?" was now complicated for San Superan by the still more difficult question of "Under which Pope?" Charles III. of Naples, the only suzerain whom the company had hitherto in any way recognised since the death of Jacques de Baux, had been murdered in 1386, and San Superan displayed a diplomatic readiness to negotiate with each and all. Louis of Bourbon did not indeed press his claim with energy, although he twice sent an envoy to the Morea, and his pretensions received some support from Venice. He contented himself with the barren title of Prince of Achaia, which he continued to bear till his death. Heredia did not relax his efforts to regain control of the country, which he alone of the many competitors had seen and appreciated, and in

[1] Archives of Turin. See Hopf, *G. G.*, vol. vii. p. 48.

1389 he gave orders for the equipment of another expedition destined for the Morea. But his ambition to include his order in the roll of the great conquistadors was never realised, probably owing to the opposition of Avignon. On the other hand the negotiations opened with San Superan by Amedeo of Savoy, who had assured himself of the benevolent attitude of the Despot at Mistra, made such good progress that he applied to Venice for transport for a force of 250 horsemen and 600 foot. But it was precisely from this quarter that opposition now arose. Venice found pretexts for delaying to reply, which were perhaps not altogether unwelcome to San Superan, whose temporising policy had enabled him so far to dispense with any sovereign authority, and she finally made the supply of the necessary galleys contingent on a guarantee from Amedeo that he would co-operate with her against the Despot, who had seized Argos and the surrounding territory, acquired by the republic from Marie d'Enghien in 1388. This high-handed procedure on the part of Theodorus produced a very complicated situation in the Morea, and still further postponed a settlement of the vexed question of the succession to Achaia.

It was precisely the fear that Nauplia and Argos might fall into the hands of Nerio or of the Despot which had induced Venice to put pressure on the young widow, after the death of Pietro Cornaro, to make over her inheritance to the protecting power. Before the republic could enter into possession, Theodorus boldly occupied Argolis and defended his aggression with the monstrous pretext that he was acting in virtue of instructions from the Sultan, to whom Constantinople was now tributary, without

whose authority he could not withdraw. Nerio Acciajuoli, who did not appreciate the establishment of a Venetian outpost on his southern border, was rightly judged to be compromised by his son-in-law's action. Being in enjoyment of the privileges of Venetian citizenship and of the maritime protection of her sea-power, for which, however, he had failed to liquidate his obligations, he was reminded of his obvious duty to uphold her lawful cause and, when urgent representations had led to no result, a commercial blockade was declared against his dominions. The Navarrese vicar proved himself a better if a somewhat unscrupulous ally to the republic. In the summer of 1389 Nerio was invited by San Superan to a personal conference on pending questions, and three days afterwards he was arrested and detained as a prisoner by Asano Zaccaria the constable. This more than questionable proceeding was of course invaluable to Venice. In vain the Despot and Tocco of Cephalonia called upon her to effect the release of their father-in-law, while his brothers, Donato the gonfalonier, and Angelo the cardinal-archbishop of Florence, moved the Signoria to vehement protestation against the unjustifiable imprisonment of their fellow-citizen, and offered hostages and ample guarantees for his good conduct. Venice refused to be moved by argument or entreaty until the retrocession of Argolis should have become an accomplished fact, and for more than a year the indignant lord of Athens remained in custody.

Theodorus at length prepared to march with all the forces of which he could dispose against San Superan, and Genoese privateers began to patrol the waters of Morea, an ominous reminder that Tocco had re-

cently acquired Genoese citizenship. Venice therefore realised that it was time to treat. Negotiations were opened at Vostitza, to which Nerio was conducted in person by his gaoler to meet the plenipotentiaries of the Doge. The terms which he was compelled to accept were hard ones. His daughter Francesca was to be detained in Eubœa as the hostage of Venice for a year, unless Argos should be earlier surrendered and all his obligations to the Navarrese fulfilled. If the latter condition had not then been satisfied she was to be passed on to their custody. As a still further guarantee for his loyalty with regard to Argos Venice was to hold the fortress of Megara, which Nerio undertook to hand over as soon as he was liberated if his wife should refuse to do so, as well as all his accumulated wealth in Corinth. Once free, he was to require the surrender of Argos from the Despot, and in the event of a refusal to co-operate in enforcing it by arms. His own personal property there would be respected by Venice. A large ransom was to be paid to the Navarrese. Commercial intercourse between his dominions and the Venetian stations would be resumed as soon as the treaty had been executed. The reluctance of Agnes Saracino to hand over the keys of Megara delayed his liberation, and it was not till the end of 1390 that the obdurate Zaccaria released his prisoner. His warehouses at Corinth were sealed, and to provide ready money for his ransom he laid hands on ecclesiastical property and stripped the massive silver door-plates from the church in the Parthenon, a sacrilege for which he subsequently atoned by making provision in his will for their replacement. In spite of all these sacrifices the Despot ignored his urgent repre-

sentations, and the surrender of Argolis was as far from realisation as ever.

This complicated situation greatly increased the difficulties of Amedeo of Savoy. No sooner had he conciliated one opposing interest than another for the moment more influential factor confronted him. The support of the Despot seemed assured; San Superan and the notables had declared themselves ready to treat with him; Venice only postponed her decision until Argolis should be restored to her, and Nerio, whose relations with the republic were now assuming a favourable turn, while asking her protection in the event of Amedeo's becoming Prince, declared himself ready to do the latter homage. Suddenly the young King Ladislas of Naples, the son of Charles III. and thus the representative of the Angevine supremacy, asserted his claims to the overlordship, and in May 1391 he appointed Nerio his bailie for Achaia and Lepanto. Nerio himself did not indeed take any advantage of this nomination, but he had to be considered in the general adjustment. At length in June 1391 a definite agreement was signed by Amedeo with the Navarrese,[1] in accordance with which all the fiefs held by San Superan and his associates with the exception of the princely domain were confirmed to them, but a right of pre-emption was accorded to the Prince in case they should desire to leave the country: the company was to receive a sum of 25,000 ducats; a general amnesty was to be proclaimed, and Nerio was to be confirmed in the possession of Corinth. Amedeo was to despatch 150 horse and 400 foot to Achaia at once and follow himself as soon as possible. Almost simultaneously the supple Nerio had secretly

[1] Archives of Turin. See Hopf, *G. G.*, vol. vii. p. 52.

negotiated a compact with the Count of Savoy by which he bound himself to assist the future Prince with all the resources he could command to get rid of the Navarrese and all other usurpers. He further gave a guarantee that the Despot would supply a contingent for the same purpose. In return restitution was to be made to him of Vostitza and all the domain which the grand seneschal had owned. A stipulation was added for what it was worth that this compact was not to prejudice the interests of Venice.[1] But the vigilant council in the lagoons had probably obtained through secret agents some cognisance of Amedeo's treaty of counter insurance. For at the moment when all seemed settled and the long-matured project was about to be realised, it was from Venice that impediments arose which finally compelled him to abandon his ambition. San Superan had lately incurred the displeasure of the Signoria by concluding a peace with the Despot, but the long-sighted statesmen of the republic preferred the Navarrese, who had been loyal to their engagements, as masters in the Morea to a tripartite coalition between Amedeo, Nerio, and the Despot, which might encourage the latter to recede from the determination they had reason to believe he had now formed of surrendering Argolis on more or less acceptable terms. Amedeo never saw the Morea, but he remained for some years to come a useful figurehead to whom inconvenient protests could be referred. A very interesting document containing a table of the princely fiefs and domains in the Morea, prepared for him in the year 1391, with the number of houses attached to each centre, is preserved in the archives of Turin. The

[1] Archives of Turin. See Hopf, *G. G.*, vol. vii. p. 53.

appended list of the barons from whom homage was due—which includes the Duke of Athens, the Duke of the Archipelago, the Duke of Leucadia, the Marquis of Bodonitza, the Count of Cephalonia, the Countess of Salona; the lord of Arkadia, the lord of Chalandritza, and contains an impersonal reference to the barony of Patras and the island of Eubœa—would seem to have been drafted as a council of perfection with little regard for the conditions actually prevailing.[1]

After the death of Sultan Murad in 1389 his son Bayazid or Bajazet continued his father's career of victorious extension. Murad had made the Greek Emperor his tributary and had finally crushed the Servians in the bloody battle of Rossovo where the respective sovereigns lost their lives. Bajazet endeavoured to consolidate his strength in Asia by the conquest of Philadelphia, the last of the Greek possessions, against which the Emperor's son Manuel, a hostage in his camp, was compelled to lead a contingent, and he confirmed the ascendency of the Ottoman over the Seljuk. In the meantime his veteran lieutenant, the Ghazi Evrenus, reduced the Wallachs to vassalage, entered Bosnia and came into conflict with the Magyars, while his son took Tirnovo by storm and annihilated the political existence of the Bulgarians. Turkish fleets plundered the islands and menaced Eubœa, and Evrenus Bey next descended upon Thessaly and entered Attica. The orthodox ecclesiastics of the duchy in their hatred of the Latin clergy seem to have been more influenced by their

[1] Published by Hopf in his *Chroniques Grêco-Romanes*, p. 229. Also by Guichenon, *Hist. de Savoie, I. preuves*, p. 127, by Buchon and others. See Appendix I., note 19.

partisan jealousies than the general cause of Christendom, and the archbishop Dorotheus, who was accused of having called in the Turks, was summarily expelled from Athens. Nerio, however, shared the common fate and became the Sultan's tributary.

In their desperate situation the Frankish dynasts, instead of composing their feuds, inclined like the Greek ecclesiastics rather to the fatal course of enlisting the support of the Turks in their intestine quarrels. San Superan, whose truce with the Despot was short-lived, appeared in 1393 at the court of Bajazet. This drove Nerio, who had no desire to become the vassal of the Navarrese captain if he should succeed in obtaining recognition as a tributary Prince of Achaia, into closer relations with the young King Ladislas, whose claim of suzerainty over the Frankish states was based on legitimate grounds. An envoy whom he had despatched to Rome to urge the Pope to proclaim a new crusade, went on to Naples and submitted his plea for a dissolution of the old feudal nexus with Achaia, which the Angevines had definitely imposed upon the duchy. Ladislas had little difficulty in complying with a request which was in itself a recognition of his overlordship and, by a rescript dated the 11th of January 1394, in which he alluded to his satisfaction at the recovery by Nerio of Athens as a portion of his principality of Achaia which was still in the hands of his enemies, he confirmed him in all his possessions with the title of Duke, making him feudatory directly and only to the crown of Naples. As Nerio had no legitimate son, the King assigned the reversion to his brother Donato.[1] It was manifestly inconvenient under these circum-

[1] Buchon, *N. R. H.*, Florence, No. xli. p. 223.

stances that the Duke of Athens should remain his nominal bailie for Achaia, and Ladislas transferred that office to his brother Angelo by a rescript dated three days later.[1] The rich archiepiscopal barony of Patras which soon afterwards fell vacant was also conferred upon Angelo. About the same time the Venetian Signoria, to whom the archon Mamonas, paramount at Monemvasia and always at feud with the Despot, had offered to hand over the control of that important fortress and trading station, was thus enabled to bring pressure to bear on Theodorus which finally compelled him to come to terms. He had recourse to the Venetian, Francesco Crispo, who on the extinction of the house of Sanudo had been chosen by the notables of the Archipelago to be their Duke, as his intermediary to notify his readiness to surrender Argolis, of which the republic now at length took possession. The Venetian garrison was then immediately withdrawn from Megara. Unity and goodwill was once more established between three of the most important factors in Romania, and though the long feud between the Despot and the Navarrese remained unaffected by the settlement, Nerio's position now seemed well assured.

But the enterprising Florentine who had risen from a private station, not as other dynasts had done by the sword of conquest, but through the resourceful application of his business instincts, to become a sovereign prince in the land of strange vicissitudes, did not long survive the issue of this weary dispute, and died in November of the same year, 1394. He had directed that his body should be laid in the cathedral of our Lady in the Parthenon, where twenty

[1] Ibid., No. xliv. p. 228.

priests were to pray continually for his soul, in a will[1] in which he assigned all the revenues of the city of Athens to that church, and placed it under the protection of Venice. From his extensive possessions he assigned large legacies to his family and liberal bequests to pious foundations, setting aside his property in Argos to found an asylum for the poor. To his illegitimate son Antonio he left Thebes and Livadia. His daughter Bartolommea was to have the 9700 ducats which Venice had held in guarantee, and which by the recent composition with her husband the Despot were to be handed over to him to restore to Nerio's estate. His second daughter Francesca, the wife of Carlo Tocco, was made his residuary legatee. The fortress of Megara and Basilicata (Sicyon) were to go to her with 30,000 hyperpers in money and jewels, as well as all the rest of his domain, immediately if at the time of his decease she had children, and if not after an interval of three years. As regards Corinth she was to come to terms with the grand seneschal and, if he wished to take it back, the captanate was to be surrendered on repayment of the sum for which it had been mortgaged. Finally he recommended his country to the protection of the Venetian Signoria, who were invited to see that the provisions of his will were duly executed.

The position of the city of Athens under Nerio's will was somewhat ill-defined, and a dispute on the subject at once arose between the republic and the Duke of Leucadia, who regarded his wife as the legal reversionary of the duchy. Making use of his brother-in-law's Albanians, Tocco raided Argolis and took possession of Corinth, which he handed over to his

[1] Buchon, *N. R. H.*, p. 254.

brother Leonardo, who again transferred it to the Despot. The raid on Argolis, for which the latter was held responsible, was punished by Venice with the sequestration of Nerio's deposit which had not yet been refunded while Tocco, whose influence to the south of the Adriatic made an attitude of conciliation appear politic, was only called upon to pay a small indemnity. The subsequent fortunes of the duchy, where Antonio, Nerio's illegitimate son, eventually secured a precarious throne, the adventurous career of Nerio II., and the brilliant pages in the romance of decadence which illustrate its latter history until its final absorption by the Turks, cannot be dealt with here.

The policy pursued by Nerio in his last years, the recognition of his independence by Ladislas, and the restoration of friendly relations with Venice confirmed by the surrender of Argolis had driven the Navarrese into the arms of the Ottomans, for whose support they appealed against the Duke and the Despot. A great part of Thessaly had after the expulsion of its Servian Prince been constituted a Pashalik and conferred on the victorious Evrenus, who had thus established a permanent base on the borders of Hellas. In the spring of 1395 he marched into the Morea and united his forces with those of San Superan, after occupying Leondari, the new fortified town which had taken the place of the old Veligosti in the plain, as well as Mistra, which the Greeks evacuated on his approach. Together they stormed and took the fortress of Akova, which the Franks had lost to the Greeks in 1320. Another Turkish army at the same time penetrated into the lower town of Athens, invited, it would appear, by the new orthodox archbishop Makarios, who

availed himself of the ambiguous situation prevailing there, and of the absence of any ordered government, to secure a renegade triumph over the Latins. The occupation was, however, a brief one. The Acropolis had continued to hold out, and the notables now invited Venice through her bailie in Eubœa to protect the city. The republic accepted the offer with alacrity, and sent Albano Contarini as its representative and captain, with a subvention of 1000 ducats. The once wealthy land had grown too poor to support the cost of its defence.

In the Morea San Superan had no sooner been left to his own resources, on the withdrawal of Evrenus, than he was surprised with a small following near Leondari by the Despot and taken prisoner. The intervention of Venice and a guarantee extracted from him that he would keep the peace in future procured his liberation on payment of a heavy ransom. For a brief period there appeared to be some prospect of a coalition against the Turks, and San Superan, having perforce abandoned the idea of constituting himself Prince of Achaia under Ottoman vassalage, now endeavoured to obtain from Ladislas a recognition which would enable him to assume the coveted title, and would confer upon him a dignity not less than that which had given lustre to his rival at Athens. Ladislas, always in need of money and ready to accept small subventions where large ones were not forthcoming, declared his readiness to meet his wishes in return for a payment of 3000 ducats. To avoid giving umbrage to the haughty Toccos he first removed Cephalonia, as he had done Athens, from the vassal roll of Achaia, and in 1396 created Pierre de San Superan Prince, with reversion to his heirs.

Theodorus of Mistra seized the opportune and rare moment at which the various factors in the Morea were at peace among themselves to moot a plan for the reconstruction of the great wall which had in ancient times been drawn across the isthmus of Corinth, and invited the co-operation of Achaia and of Venice, whose policy it had hitherto been to refrain from any avowed hostility to the Turks, though she was ready to take part in a scheme of defensive assurance. This union of forces did not escape the vigilance of the Sultan, who, so long as internal dissensions divided its rulers, had been content to leave the Morea to the natural process of slow disintegration. There were still, however, portions of Thessaly and Northern Greece which had not yet been incorporated in the Turkish zone, and Bajazet proposed to deal with these on his march south. Once more the Greek bishops welcomed the advance of the crescent. Trikkala, Pharsalos, Zeitoun, Neo-Patras, Dhomoko were occupied, and then it became the turn of Salona, where the widow of Louis Fadrique and her daughter Maria had been able to maintain their independence, after Nerio had expelled the Catalans from the duchy. The rule of the Countess Helena had long been a notorious scandal in Romania, and all the real power was delegated to the hands of her paramour, a renegade priest of the name of Strates, who had not even the virtue of fidelity to the mistress he dishonoured, but disgraced his cloth by seduction, murder, and spoliation. His latest adventure in gallantry had been the abduction and concealment in the castle of a beautiful girl belonging to the family of the bishop Seraphim, and the latter no longer hesitated to call in the Turks, whose dominion seemed to involve a

lesser evil than the tyranny of this human monster. The unfortunate victim of his lust was murdered and buried in haste in order that no evidence of his guilt should be forthcoming, but the seducer himself was killed by an indignant citizen, who sent the head to the camp of Bajazet. Salona surrendered without any attempt at resistance on his approach, and the Countess gained eternal infamy by appearing before the Sultan, and proposing her young daughter's entry to his harem as the price of her own immunity. The grim Bajazet accepted the proffered maiden, but did not restore Salona to her mother, who was ignominiously driven from his presence. The only Frankish barony which now escaped the storm was Bodonitza, where Jacopo Giorgio as a Venetian citizen was for the present unmolested.

The approach of a great crusading army on the Danube delayed for a while the progress of the Turks. But after the crushing defeat of the Hungarian king Sigismund at Nicopolis, the veteran Evrenus was sent in 1397 to the Peloponnesus to deal with the Despot and his neighbours. The new fortifications rising on the isthmus did not for a moment arrest the progress of his 50,000 men. From Argolis alone 14,000 souls were carried off into slavery. The Greeks were once more defeated at Leondari, the scene of many a desperate struggle, and both the Despot and the Prince of Achaia were reduced to the condition of tributary vassals. But the Turks did not as yet contemplate settlement in the harassed land. Constantinople had still to be reduced, and the disquieting westward thrust of the Mongol hordes of Timour, overflowing into the Asiatic provinces, demanded the transfer to other regions of all the fighting-men who could be

spared from less acutely menaced borders of the new Ottoman realm. Theodorus, who could expect no help from the tottering empire and found Venice disposed to adhere to her policy of non-provocation and chiefly concerned to improve her own defences in Argos and Nauplia, now sought the assistance of the knights of St. John, who played an honourable part in these disastrous years in upholding the cause of the Christian against the Moslem, and entrusted to them the defences of the isthmus. By so doing he excited the apprehensions of San Superan, who saw in the Order only a rival claimant to Achaia, and renewing his ancient feud with the despotate, once more made common cause with the universal enemy, and even joined a band of Turkish raiders in invading the Venetian area. But the days of the Navarrese condottiere were numbered, and he died in the year 1402, after having maintained his precarious authority for some twenty years in a desolate land, where the sparse inhabitants crouched in their humble tenements under the shadow of frowning castles held by alien mercenaries, a land which had no longer any story to record but that of the raids and forays which laid it waste, or of the eternal corsair hungrily watching the half-deserted havens of its once populous shores.

He had married Maria, the sister of the constable Andronicus Asano Zaccaria, a descendant of the famous Genoese house which had given lords to Phocæa, Chios, and Samos, and had absorbed by matrimonial alliances the Moreote baronies of Chalandritza, Veligosti-Damala, and more recently Arkadia by the marriage of Asano himself to the heiress of Érard Lenoir, who died in 1388. The powerful and

wealthy constable had, however, passed away the year before his brother-in-law, and Maria, who now assumed the regency on behalf of the infant children of the Prince, to her misfortune appointed as her bailie his son Centurione Zaccaria II., who was as unscrupulous as he was ambitious. It was only natural that, as the last of the ancient nobility of Romania, he should have regarded his uncle in the light of an upstart adventurer, whose claims to paramountcy among the Franks could not be compared with those of his own house. But the shabby trick by which the last Prince of Achaia succeeded in ousting the children of San Superan, whose interests were entrusted to his defence, can only be compared with the sharp practice which tradition attributed to the first Prince in dispossessing the inheritors of Champlitte. Several dormant claims of titular pretenders to the principality seemed likely to be revived by the death of San Superan, and Venice was not unjustly suspected of contemplating its annexation. Centurione anticipated any conflict by sending a secret envoy to Ladislas, who was instructed to represent to the King that the heirs of the late Prince were not in a position to pay the still unliquidated sum of 3000 ducats for which the title had been conceded to his house, but that his principal was prepared to pay off the debt due at once on the condition of his being himself recognised as Prince. The avaricious Ladislas did not scruple to accept this unworthy proposal, and the monstrous plea was advanced that the heirs of San Superan had failed to renew the oath of fidelity, and had thus incurred the penalty of dispossession. Thus in 1404 Centurione Zaccaria became the last Prince of Achaia.

Meanwhile an event of momentous importance had shaken the eastern world to its foundations and had unexpectedly given the fallen empire and the feeble Frankish states a new brief lease of life. While Bajazet was contemplating the final reduction of the imperial city and Manuel, who had succeeded his father Johannes V. as sole Emperor in 1391, leaving the semblance of authority which remained to him in the hands of his once disloyal but now submissive nephew Johannes VII., was travelling round the western courts in quest of assistance, the Sultan was called away to Asia to stem the irresistible onset of the Tartar hordes who, under the terrible Timour, were sweeping away barrier after barrier in his Asiatic dominions. Uniting all his available forces he marched to meet his savage foes, and at the battle of Angora in July 1402 he was overwhelmingly defeated and became the prisoner of the triumphant Mongol, in whose captivity he died. Asia Minor lay at the mercy of a merciless conqueror, and the power of the Ottomans seemed irremediably broken. Manuel, who received the news in France, returned to Constantinople and acknowledged himself the vassal of Timour until the death of the latter in 1405. This unexpected catastrophe and the dissensions which divided the heirs of Bajazet enabled him partially and temporarily to reconstitute the fortunes of his ruined realm.

The usurper Centurione had little peace in his ill-gotten principality, though the defeat of the Ottomans spared the Morea a renewal of invasion. The Despot refused to recognise him, and raided the south-western province, even penetrating into the Venetian zone to plunder. The Toccos of Cephalonia were avowedly hostile to him, and his own brother Stefano

Zaccaria, the archbishop of Patras, discountenanced his unjustifiable elevation. Theodorus indeed died in 1407 and, as he left no legitimate children, the Emperor Manuel, to whom the despotate reverted, appointed his second son, another Theodorus, in his place. With the death of the old and implacable enemy of Achaia peace ensued. But the dismemberment of the diminished principality began in the same year with the seizure of Clarenza by Leonardo Tocco, the Count of Zante. Venice, in reply to Centurione's appeal, boldly demanded the cession of Zonklon as the price of her intervention. The archbishop of Patras, anxious to withdraw from this unquiet land into the securer calm of ecclesiastical study at Bologna, gave the republic a lease of his barony in return for an annual payment of 1000 ducats. She had already by a payment of 30,000 to the impecunious Ladislas finally regulated her position in Corfu, and in 1407 she successfully negotiated for the cession of Lepanto from its Albanian prince. The keys of the Gulf and the Adriatic were in her hands, and in 1411 proposals were made to Centurione for what was practically an assignation of the remainder of his petty estate to Venice. A conclusion was deferred in consequence of his serious illness. After his unexpected recovery he succeeded with the support of the Moreote Albanians in regaining possession of Clarenza, and Venice, to whom the Toccos in turn appealed, offering to hoist the banner of St. Mark on all their fortresses, had no desire to increase her responsibilities at that moment and merely insisted on a suspension of hostilities for three years.

By this time the Ottoman power, still in the full vitality of youth, had in a great measure recovered

from the disaster of Angora and the intestine troubles which followed on the death of Bajazet. Suliman, who had just established himself at Adrianople, had been overthrown and killed by his brother Musa, and he in turn was defeated and slain by another brother Mohammed, who in 1413 definitely succeeded to the Ottoman throne. Mohammed had not the restless fever for conquest which had signalised his father and grandfather, but after he had set his house in order he designed to punish the petty dynasts who had thrown off their tributary estate, especially those who enjoyed the protection of Venice, in whom he realised his most formidable antagonist. Bodonitza, which Musa's troops had burned in 1410, after Jacopo Giorgio had been betrayed into their hands by a faithless servant, had been rebuilt by his brother Niccolo. The town was now finally reduced to a smouldering heap of ruins and all the population were carried off to the horrors of slavery. Athens was once more subjected to a ruinous visitation. Eubœa and the Venetian islands were plundered. But the great sea-captain Pietro Loredano exacted a sanguinary vengeance, destroyed the Turkish fleet at Gallipoli, and compelled the Sultan to conclude a peace which lasted till his death in 1321.

The Emperor Manuel, in whom Mohammed had found a partisan during his strife with his brothers, remained on good terms with the Sultan and had succeeded during the crisis in Ottoman history in restoring some order in his own dominions. In the year 1415 he paid a visit to the Morea, where the despotate now represented one of the most important assets remaining to the diminished empire. He endeavoured to place the government of his weak and

morbid son on a sounder basis of security. He compelled Centurione to pay homage and laid the whole Peloponnese under contribution, in money or labour, for the completion of the defences of the Isthmus. In an incredibly short space of time the wall traced across its narrowest section, something over 7000 yards in length, was reconstituted with 150 towers, and a strong castle at either end. He remained for nearly a year at the court of his son, regulating the incidence of taxation, repressing the tyranny of the local archons, and studying the projects of reform put forward by the latter-day philosopher, Gemistus Plethon, whose ardent Platonism and Greek nationality procured for him a somewhat exaggerated reputation among the enthusiasts of the Italian renascence. Before taking his departure he pronounced a funeral oration at the grave of his brother and eulogised the policy he had adopted in repopulating the land with a vigorous stock of colonists. If the demoralisation of the intriguing and self-seeking archons rendered the regeneration of the Morea a task beyond any hope of permanent success, his energetic labours at any rate infused so much vigour into the local populations that a brief epoch of Greek ascendency in the Morea once more became possible.

To the haughty Centurione the surrender of his principality to one of the western powers seemed a preferable alternative to remaining the humble vassal of the empire, notwithstanding the obligations of his family to the house of Palæologus. His inclinations leaned towards his mother city. But Genoa proved a broken reed and his intrigues with her rival only exasperated Venice, who waited her opportunity. In 1417 Manuel's eldest son and co-regent, Johannes VIII.,

appeared in the peninsula to support his brother in the eternal feud with the Franks. He took possession of Andrusa and a great part of Messenia, scoured the north-western plains of Achaia and allowed his Albanian supporters who, once removed from the scene of their hereditary feuds, were beginning to develop some spirit of national cohesion, to raid the Venetian area. Venice was compelled to come to the assistance of Centurione's rapidly dwindling principality, and she exacted the transfer of Zonklon as her price. She also now demanded the definite surrender of Patras from Stefano Zaccaria, who had been acting as her envoy to his brother. The Roman curia however, which had consistently claimed the sovereignty and disposal of the barony as well as the see, vehemently opposed this transaction, which Venice was compelled to renounce. On the other hand the republic was more than compensated by the acquisition of Monemvasia, the impregnable Gibraltar of the Peloponnese, and since the decline of Clarenza its most important commercial harbour, which under the predominant family of Mamonas had been constantly hostile to the Despot, and was now left as a legacy by the last of that house or offered by the notables to the republic. About the same time Clarenza was once more torn away from Centurione by a piratical adventurer, Oliviero Franco, probably a Genoese by nationality. The harassed Prince saved appearances by marrying his daughter to the buccaneer and assigning Clarenza to her as a dowry. But he was not able to prevent him from selling it soon afterwards to Carlo Tocco, whose recovery of a great part of Epirus had made him the most considerable of the petty dynasts of Romania.

During the latter years of Sultan Mohammed the Greeks and the Franks enjoyed a brief period of respite from hostilities, but after Mohammed's death and the succession of Murad II., the Byzantine spirit of intrigue was re-aroused by the appearance of a pretender in Asia who claimed to be the young Sultan's uncle, and raised a rebellion which Johannes VIII. persuaded his father to countenance. Murad therefore determined once for all to transfer his capital to Constantinople and annex the scanty remains of the empire. So strong however were still the venerable city's admirable defences, and such new spirit had the energies of Manuel inspired into its guards and into a populace which, having witnessed the fate of other fallen cities, now fought with the courage of despair, that Murad's hosts were driven off with heavy loss and the Sultan, having his hands full with the rebellion in Asia, did not renew the siege but directed his European armies against Thessalonica, the appanage of Manuel's fourth son Andronicus. But the empire remained his tributary and Manuel died a few days after the withdrawal of the besieging force.

The notables of Thessalonica, with the consent of Andronicus, who was dying of a mortal disease, offered to make over their city to Venice, and a bargain was actually concluded in 1423 by which it passed into the hands of the republic for a sum of 50,000 ducats. She held it until 1430, when it was carried by storm, and after an orgy of unparalleled outrages became and remained a Turkish settlement. Contenting himself for the present with a systematic investment, Murad's general, the savage Turachan, led the bulk of his army towards the southern provinces of Romania where Venice, anticipating the

coming storm, had united the lesser dynasts in a coalition of resistance. Tocco was compelled to open the gates of his fortresses and Turachan, crumpling up the famous defences of the Isthmus, led 25,000 men by roads marked by fire and desolation through the heart of the Morea, reduced the Despot once more to the position of a tributary, piled up hideous pyramids of the heads of the slaughtered Albanians in Arcadia, and returned with 6000 slaves.

The Despot Theodorus II., who had little of the energy of his family, weary of his unquiet throne, of the eternal quarrel with the Franks, the interference of Venice and the perpetual menace of the Turkish terror, now contemplated exchanging the ungrateful task of government for the peace of the cloister, and announced his intention to his brother. Johannes VIII. accordingly came to the Morea in 1427 with his favourite brother and eventual successor, Constantine, whom he designed to invest with the despotate. Constantine brought with him his friend Georgius Phrantzes, the distinguished diplomatist and statesman, whose picturesque and entertaining narrative invests with a personal interest his record of the last years of Byzantine rule.[1] By the time they arrived the unstable Theodorus had reconsidered his decision. The Emperor therefore endeavoured to find compensation elsewhere in the peninsula for Constantine, a prince of no little courage and capacity, whose character gains by contrast with that of his treacherous and unprincipled brother Thomas, the evil genius of the decline of the house of Palæologus. The Toccos

[1] After an active life of many vicissitudes, broken-hearted at the death of his son and daughter in slavery, he retired to a monastary in Corfu and wrote his *chronicon*, which is continued down to the year 1477.

were approached with a view to the cession of their Moreote territories, and some compulsion was exercised by a movement of troops on Clarenza, which led to a composition. A marriage was then arranged between Constantine and Maddalena Tocco, who received the city and its appurtenances as her dower, and other domains were found for him in the north and south of the peninsula. Theodorus assigned Calavryta to his brother Thomas, and thus a kind of Greek triarchate was established in the Peloponnese. In 1430 Constantine succeeded after several unsuccessful attempts in surprising Patras, during the absence of the archbishop Pandolfo Malatesta, disregarding the prohibition of the Sultan, to whom he pleaded as an excuse his fear that the Catalans employed by the curia for its defence might make themselves masters there, and in spite of the protests of Venice, now too busily occupied with the defence of Thessalonica to actively interfere. The appearance of the Catalan galleys at Clarenza, which they held up for ransom, suggested to Constantine the advisability of dismantling the fortifications of a port so open to seizure by a naval power, which might thence dominate the plain of Elis, and he transferred the garrison to Clairmont, which now became the seat of the new despotate.

During the attack on Patras, Thomas had made a demonstration against Centurione Zaccaria, and had so closely invested the castle of Chalandritza in which he had shut himself up, that the "Prince," fearing to lose everything, was glad to agree to any terms. He had no legitimate son, and he now gave his daughter and heiress Catherine to the sinister Thomas with all that was left of Achaia for her dowry. On their

marriage in 1430, Thomas also received the title of Despot from his brother. Centurione retained a life-interest in the revenues of such territories as represented the scanty remainder of the once flourishing principality until his death two years later. With him perished the last Frank whose name is known to history, and with the exception of the ports that were held by Venice, the peninsula was once more in the hands of the Greeks and divided between the three Despots. Doubtless in many of the rock-built fastnesses which crown every available site of vantage in the mountain land, some minor nobles in whose veins still flowed the blood of the old conquistadors continued to maintain a precarious existence through the brief concluding period of the Byzantine restoration and, when the final tide of Moslem occupation swept from sea to sea, held their isolated castles to the last and perished unrecorded in the great catastrophe. Some reminiscences of such forgotten tragedies in battles long ago survive in popular tradition and in the songs of the solitary shepherd folk. But the record of Frankish history in the Morea closes with the re-establishment of the house of Palæologus.[1]

If the magnificent gallantry of the first crusading adventurers and the halo of romance which glorifies

[1] The three brothers ruled over their several provinces until the death of Theodorus in 1443, when Constantine, who had long taken the lead in the direction of affairs, divided the authority with Thomas. On the succession of Constantine to the imperial title in 1449, his brother Demetrius succeeded him in the Morea and was constantly at feud with the infamous Despot Thomas. In 1453 Constantinople fell, and seven years later Mohammed II. finally absorbed the Morea and expelled the Palæologi. Demetrius became the pensioner of the Sultan, Thomas of the Pope. The last Palæologus, whose father, the second son of the Despot Thomas, had returned to Constantinople and thrown himself on the bounty of the Sultan, became a Mussulman, and received the name of Mohammed. There have not been wanting many since who, bearing this by no means unusual name, have claimed descent from the imperial house.

their achievements cannot blind us to the absence of all justification for the Frankish conquest, it may at least be said that the first years of their administration were probably far happier for the subject populations than those which had preceded them. The restricted number of the conquerors made it impossible for them to oppress with impunity the peasantry, to whom they proclaimed themselves liberators, and an honest attempt was made to govern in a spirit of toleration and justice. But the rivalries of the Churches and the identification of these alien lords with the paramount claims of Rome made it impossible for them to take root in the popular affection. Feudalism remained a foreign graft. From the first the Frankish nobles looked to the French King as the supreme fount of honour and the protector of their institutions. Although they adopted the customs and the language of the Greeks, they sought their wives from the west, and the intermarriage of the humbler class was stigmatised by the name which was given to their progeny. A fusion of races never took place. The subjection of the principality to Naples made such a possibility still more remote. The ambition of the Angevines and the administration by their bailies of a country which they only regarded as a source of revenue and a stepping-stone to ulterior conquests, hastened the undoing of a romantic experiment. The barons, instead of fulfilling their duties as an essential portion of the administrative machine, became absorbed in the partisan quarrels of rival claimants, and finally looked only to the defence of their own individual interests and the erection of their domains into independent and mutually hostile centres. The institutions of the west, transplanted to

an uncongenial soil, displayed in the end even less power of resistance to the new and vital force of Islam than the effete Byzantine organisation.

Nevertheless it may be said with truth that this occupation of a martial race and the mode of life and thought which they introduced was not without its effect upon the subject peoples. It infused new vigour into an enervated stock, and in some measure contributed to its ultimate regeneration. As one of their own historians has remarked,[1] it taught the Greeks a lesson which they learned to put into practice with energy through the ensuing centuries, when time after time the national spirit rose superior to overwhelming odds in the perpetual struggle to shake off the Turkish domination. Independently, however, of such considerations, the story of the Frankish barons of Morea, who for two hundred years divided a fair inheritance, extending from Acrocorinth to Ithome, presents a striking and in many ways a brilliant page in human annals, which acquires an added lustre from the fact that its scene is laid in places which are indissolubly associated with the sentiment and aspirations of mankind.

[1] Paparregopoulos.

APPENDIX I

GENERAL NOTES

NOTE 1, VOL. I. p. 30.

Sergeants (*servientes:* German, *sariant*).

BESIDES the adventurers of noble blood holding fiefs in their own country and personally invested by their overlord with the emblems of knighthood, there would be found in the ranks of a feudal army at the end of the twelfth and in the thirteenth century a far larger number of horsemen, some of them also of noble blood, serving as retainers or simple soldiers, generally comprehended under the name of sergeants.

Mr. Oman, in his *Art of War in the Middle Ages*, includes among the non-knightly class of a feudal army (1) young holders of knightly fiefs who had not yet received the knightly title; (2) men of knightly blood, holding small fiefs, who, on account of poverty (or some such other reason), did not intend to take up the honour; (3) younger sons of barons and knights, who had no land and therefore could not aspire to knighthood; (4) various degrees of persons of non-knightly blood enfeoffed on land by their lords. The last is the class to which the title properly belongs (p. 371).

NOTE 2, VOL. I. p. 32.

The Lombard family of Montferrat was of Franconian origin. "I marchesi del Monferrato tirano l'origine della loro antichissima stirpe da' Duchi da Sassonia" (P. Ranusio, *Guerra di Constantinopoli*, Venice, 1604, p. 198).

Guglielmo II. of Montferrat married Jutta of Austria, daughter of Leopold III. and sister of the Emperor Conrad III. His eldest son Guglielmo died in the Holy Land in 1177. The second son, Riniero, the husband of Maria Comnena, fell a victim to Greek treachery. Conrad, lord of Tyre, the hero of the wars of Palestine, succeeded his father in 1188. Two other brothers, Otto and Federigo, entered the Church. Therefore, on the assassination of Conrad in 1192, the marquisate devolved upon Bonifazio, the youngest son, then aged about thirty-eight, who had already for some time acted as regent.

NOTE 3, VOL. I. p. 46.

Varangians.

The employment of foreign mercenaries in the imperial guard is older than the days of Constantine. The Romans called them *fœderati.* Recruits of many nations were available from the various barbarian nations, overcome by and absorbed into the empire, but the bulk of the Varangians seem to have been of Norse or Germanic origin. Between 1033 and 1043 Harald Hardrada was commander of the Varangian troops, and after suppressing a local rebellion, wrote his runes on the lion at the harbour mouth of the Piræus. In the latter days of the empire the guard appears to have been largely composed of English, who, according to Odoricus Vitalis, after the Norman conquest went in great numbers to Constantinople, where the Emperor Alexius built a settlement for them. There are still to be seen in Norway a certain number of small wooden chapels, built in the form of Byzantine churches, which date from remote antiquity. Tradition assigns them to the piety of returned soldiers from the east, who constructed these little edifices *ex voto* in memory of their service in the Varangian guard.

The origin of the name has been traced to the German *fortganger—i.e.* exile, emigrant. The etymology has little to commend it save its ingenuity. Du Cange suggests that Varangian or Varingian is derived from "warring," an appellation borrowed from the language of the mercenaries. The

name is no doubt identical with φράγγοι, frank (feringhi, foreign). But in a chrysobull of Alexius I. both words appear—Ρώσσων, Βαράγγων, Κουλπίγγων, Ἰγγλίνων, Φράγγων —among the races enumerated as contributing to the imperial guard. Perhaps when Frank had come to be applied especially to western nations a distinction arose between Frank and Varang.

NOTE 4, VOL. I. p. 71.

Bulgarians.

In the second half of the seventh century the Bulgarians, an Asiatic race who had first colonised the banks of the Volga, occupied the province of Mœsia. In the ninth century they had grown so powerful that they threatened Constantinople, but Leo the Armenian defeated them so thoroughly that for fifty years they disappeared from history. At the end of the ninth century they recovered, and their prince, Simeon, assuming the title of Tsar, founded the first Bulgarian empire. John Zimisces destroyed the eastern Bulgarians, but a western State maintained its independence until Basil II. (Bulgaroktonos) brought them under the dominion of the empire to which the Bulgarians now remained in subjection for 150 years. During the miserable reign of Isaak II., goaded past endurance by the exactions of the capital, they rebelled and invaded Thrace, but were driven back by Vranas. Their leader Joannisa, who was detained as a hostage in Constantinople, escaped in 1197, and securing the Bulgarian throne, entered into negotiations with the Pope and received unction as a Catholic monarch. But Baldwin received his envoys coldly and affected to treat him as a revolted vassal. The Bulgarians had from the first shown themselves a very receptive race and it is probable that there was at this period but little of the old Bulgarian blood in the mixed race of Vlachs and Slavs, which composed the armies of the Asans, who apparently spoke Vlach, and claimed Roman descent. Henry of Flanders in a letter to Pope Innocent III., describing his brother's defeat and capture, speaks of Joannisa as "Blachus ille Joannitius." (*Letters Inn. III.*, viii. 131.)

NOTE 5, VOL. I. p. 107.

Origin of the name Morea.

The etymology of Morea must remain doubtful. The name does not seem to have been used by any Byzantine historian before the thirteenth century, although undoubtedly applied to a portion of the Peloponnesus at an earlier date. It was only adopted generally after the Frankish conquest.

Passing by such far-fetched hypotheses as those which would trace its origin to an early Moorish colony—a derivation perhaps suggested by the old-established sea-trade between Messenia and Tripoli—we must also reject the popular etymology from *μορέα*, the mulberry, explained by the supposed resemblance of the peninsula to a leaf of that tree, inasmuch as when the name first appeared it was only applied to the western coastlands of Elis. Nor is there better justification for the second line of defence of the upholders of this theory, when they refer to mulberry plantations by which the silk industry of Greece was supported. The silk industry had its headquarters in central Greece, especially at Thebes, whereas the indigenous tree in the coastlands of Elis and Achaia, the original Morea, was the oak and not the mulberry. In Achaia the oak groves remain to this day. In Elis, where they have been cleared to make room for the currant vine, they are still a tradition.

The form Amorea, which is found in early Italian writers, has suggested the ingenious theory of a corruption from Anorea (the mountainless lands), contrasted with Mesorea (corrupted into Mesarea), a name given to the mountainous highlands of Arcadia. It is more probable, however, that the initial *a* is due to a supposed elided article, *l'Amorea* for *La Morea*.

Fallmerayer, constant to his determination to prove that Slavonic immigration had entirely replaced the Hellenic populations, derived Morea from the Slav *More*, sea, *i.e.* sea-land. Finlay adopts the Slavonic origin of the name, but inappropriately cites in illustration a Slavonic district known as Morrha, which lies inland in the mountains of Rhodope.

The etymology is plausible, but it has been pointed out on the other hand that the spirit of the Slav languages would not have sanctioned the formation of Morea from *More*, but that any modification would have been by prefix or initial inflection. Moreover the name first appears at a time when the Slav colonists had been to a great extent assimilated by the Greeks, and their language had disappeared in the Peloponnesus. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, in his treatise on the Themes of the empire, makes special reference to the Slav colony and indicates Slavonic nomenclature, but does not mention Morea in his enumeration of the names of the peninsula.

Hopf traces the name to the Frankish invaders, notorious for their distortion of Greek words, and submits that *Μωραία* was a metaphesis of *Ρωμαία*. The chronicle, however, has *Μορέα*. In illustration of such a change he quotes the Genoese, Domenico Mario Negri, who in his geographical commentaries, written at the end of the fourteenth century, refers to a race of shepherds "quos Morias seu Flaccos appellant." These were evidently Vlachs or Wallachs, *i.e.* Roumanians. Here is therefore a precisely analogous change of *Romaious* into *Morias*. In the present day, moreover, the Kutzo-Vlachs of the Balkans call themselves *Armani* instead of *Romani*. The theory is no new one. It was already put forward by Paulo Ranusio, whose six books on the conquest of Constantinople were published at Venice in 1604, when he wrote "e questa provincia cosi detta, quasi Romea; havendo i greci de' tempi adietro con translatione di lettere fatto di Romea, Morea."

Hopf is, however, mistaken in asserting that the name first appears with the advent of the Franks. Mr. Constantine Sathas has proved beyond doubt that it was in use in Elis before the thirteenth century, and has discovered it in a Greek manuscript in the British Museum which bears the date of 1111 A.D. (MS. additional, N. 28,816). This writer ingeniously tries to prove the existence at some previous period of a seaport town called Muria or Morea, in the neighbourhood of Pondikocastro in Elis, which he identifies with the Margana of Xenophon and Diodorus Siculus, the Margalæ of Strabo and the Margaiai of Stefanus Byzantius.

The fishery of Muria (the purple mussel) is, he points out, still carried on in the neighbourhood of Pyrgos (C. Sathas, *Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce*, 1880, vol. i. preface, p. xxx). While his arguments in favour of a seaport which has disappeared do not appear conclusive, there is much to be said in support of the derivation from *Μουργγά* of a name which undoubtedly belonged in the first instance to the coastlands of Elis. The fishing industry which supplied the favourite purple dye of antiquity must have been especially important in the centuries prior to the Norman invasion of Greece, when the country was chiefly known to the outer world for the excellence of her silk fabrics.

After the conquest the Franks habitually used the name, first to designate the western plains, where their headquarters were established, and later the whole peninsula (*e.g.* ὅλης τῆς Πελοπόνεσσος, τὸν λέγουσιν Μορέαν. - *G.C.*, 4393). It continued, however, to be used also to designate the western province of Achaia, as distinct from Escorta and Calamata. After the Frankish occupation, Byzantine writers generally adopted the name for the peninsula.

Note 6, Vol. I. p. 134.

Subordination of the Greek to the Latin Church in Tinos in 1700: *from the voyage of M. Tournefort.*

"The bishop of Tinos has 300 crowns a year settled income, and 200 crowns the emoluments of his church; his clergy, too, are a notable body, and amount to above 120 in number. The Greeks have full 200 Papas, subject to a Protopapas; but they have never a bishop of their communion, and in many things are dependent on the Latin bishops. A Greek cannot be a priest until this bishop has examined him. After the candidate has upon oath acknowledged the Pope and the Apostolic Roman church, the Latin bishop gives his dismissory letter, in case he be twenty-five years old; then he is consecrated by some Greek bishop from an adjacent island, to whom he allows 10 or 12 crowns for his voyage. On the day of the consecration the new priest gives three

pound of silk to the Proveditore, the like to the Latin bishop, and a crown and a half to the Protopapas, who had given his attestation as to his morals.

"In all processions and ecclesiastical functions the Latin clergy have the precedence; whenever the Greek priests enter the Latin churches in a body, they uncover their heads according to the custom of the Latins, which they do not in their own churches. When mass is said in presence of both bodies of clergy, after the Latin sub-deacon has sung the epistle, the second dignitary of the Greek clergy sings it in Greek, and when the Latin deacon has sung the gospel, the first Greek dignitary, or the chief of the priests, sings likewise the gospel in Greek. In all the Greek churches of the island there is one altar for the Latin priests; they have full liberty in the Greek church to preach on any controversial subjects between them and the Latins." (*A Voyage into the Levant*, by M. Tournefort, translated by John Ozell. London, 1741. Vol. ii. Letter I.)

NOTE 7, VOL. I. p. 54.

The family of dalle Carceri of Verona.

The Ghibelline family of dalle Carceri is first mentioned in Veronese records in 1176 (Turresano, *Elog. Hist. Nobm. Ver. Propaginum.* MS. in Verona Archives). Ubertino dalle Carceri was imperial bailie in Verona towards the end of the twelfth century. An Isnardino dalle Carceri was Consul of Justice in Verona in 1202. Ravano dalle Carceri, who appears as envoy from Dandolo to the marquis Bonifazio together with Marco Sanudo, had two brothers, Arrigo, bishop of Mantua, and Riondello, or Rodondellus (see documents recording the negotiations between Ravano and Venice: Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, Pt. II. pp. cciv, ccv, ccvi). Riondello was "consul et consiliarius" at Verona in 1209 and Podestá in 1210—"Optimus et perfectus fuit." He was father of Marino and Rizzardo, who divided the northern barony of Eubœa. In 1226 a Leo de Carcere was Podestá of Verona, and expelled the Guelphs from the city. He was succeeded by Ezzelin Romano. In 1243 the houses of the

dalle Carceri at Verona were razed to the ground. In 1265 Turrisendus de Turrisendis, Pulcinela de Carcere, and their partisans who had been exiled returned to Verona. They were once more expelled in 1268, after which Pulcinela was involved in a plot against Mastino della Scala. (Verona Archives and *Antiche Chronache Veronese.* Venice, 1890.)

NOTE 8, VOL. I. p. 169.

The Tzaconians.

The name Tzaconia was at one time assumed to be merely a corruption of Laconia, but there can be no justification for the assumption of such a phonetic change. The language, according to its principal student, Professor Thiersch (*Über die Sprache der Tzakonen*), in addition to a number of obvious Doricisms and contains traces of the old Epic vocabulary, forms which apparently belong to an older language of the pre-hellenic period, and exhibit characteristic elements of Greek, Latin, and German. Hopf believed the Tzaconians to be a Slavonic tribe. The language, however, has but little taint of Slavonic. At the same time it is not improbable that the actual name Tzaconia is derived from some Slavonic tribe which settled in the district, and which, itself gradually merged in the pre-existing population by the absorbing process which must account for the disappearance of the Slavs in Greece, left its name behind in a region where a language had survived which was not understood by the rest of the Greeks.

NOTE 9, VOL. I. p. 171.

Maina or Mani and the Maniotes.

Mesa Mani, the "Land of Evil Counsel," which the present writer visited in the year 1890, was then one of the least known and most inaccessible regions in the Morea. The long rock terrace which lies to the west of the spine of mountain forming the central promontory is indeed an uninviting land, barren to starvation-point, without water, save what is collected in cisterns during the rainy season. The

bare slopes are almost destitute even of that low growth of mountain shrub which elsewhere perfumes the clear air of Greece. A few stunted olives and figs, a little thin barley planted in the crevices of the rocks, or lupines, the "grapes of Mani," are all that the arid tableland yields. And yet this trackless wilderness of stone is loved with passionate attachment by the Maniotes, a race, whatever may be their origin, of marked individuality, differing in many respects from their neighbours. Their claim to kinship with the population of ancient Laconia is in some measure justified by the Doricisms in which their speech abounds. Their villages, where every house is a tower, loopholed for defence, and entered only by a ladder drawn up from above, reflect the instincts of the people among whom the blood feud is a family obligation. Wrecking and piracy were reputed to be their chief occupation at the beginning of the nineteenth century, but now, like the Cornish at home, they seek a less precarious livelihood in emigration. They owe a recognised allegiance to their hereditary chiefs, but have never readily admitted the control of any central government, and have always been rather conciliated than overawed by the sovereign power, enjoying immunity from most forms of taxation under pretext of recognition for great services rendered in the war of independence. Until the ninth century they remained heathen, and though not referred to as a separate race in the chronicles, were doubtless quite as formidable to the Franks as the Melings and Ezerites of the central and northern slopes of Taygetus. Some account of this curious race and their country will be found in *Customs and Lore of Modern Greece* (E. Arnold), by the present author.

NOTE 10, VOL. I. p. 176.

Title of the Duke of Clarence.

It has been maintained that after the marriage of Florence of Hainault with Isabella Villehardouin, the family of the counts of Hainault took a title from the Achaian city of Clarenza, and that through Philippa of Hainault, the wife of Edward III., it was revived in favour of her son Lionel.

Buchon, Hopf, and others have accepted the popular tradition. Colonel Leake, on the other hand, throws doubt upon it, maintaining that the English title of Clarence was derived from the district of Clare in Suffolk, and was borne by Prince Lionel on his succeeding to the estate of Gilbert, Earl of Clare and Gloucester, uncle to his wife (*Peloponnesiaca*, p. 212). Leake found the name *Γλάρεντξα* or *Γλάραντξα* existing in other parts of Greece, and derives it from the Romaic name of a waterfowl, *Γλάρος*. The tradition, however, which connects an English prince with the adventurers of the thirteenth century in the Morea has a fascination which one is reluctant to abandon, and it is conceivable that the name had a double significance as bestowed on the son of Philippa of Hainault.

In one of the early poems of the Arthurian cycle, the story of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, is found among the nobles assembled at King Arthur's mythical court, "Sir Dodinel le Sauvage, the Duke of Clarence." The MS. of this poem in the British Museum is of the end of the fourteenth century, but the poem itself may well be somewhat older. Now Lionel, Duke of Clarence, died in 1369. If the title had been a new one created especially for this prince, and derived from Clare in Suffolk, it might be contended that a contemporary writer would hardly have chosen it to give to a knight of King Arthur's court. On the other hand, the legends which had gathered round the conquest of Morea and the acquisition of principalities in the Levant would more readily justify the association with the round table of a name derived from the crusading epoch which developed the spirit of adventure and chivalry crystallised in the Arthurian romance. The name of Sir Clarrus de Cleremont in Mallory seems also to recall an echo from Achaia. The legend that the Duke of Clarence elected to die by drowning in a butt of Malmsey has a certain picturesque appropriateness, if it be conceded that he derived his title from the Morea. See note on p. 179.

NOTE 11, VOL. I. p. 181.

The Castles of Maina.

Buchon places the castle of Maigne at the end of the little promontory of Tigani on the western coast, and erroneously supposes the castle above Porto-Kaio to have been Leftro. He was led into this mistake by a passage in the Greek chronicle which states that Leftro was near Kisterna, and there is a Kisterna in the neighbourhood of Porto-Kaio. But both these places are on the eastern side of the Tænarion promontory, whereas Leftro was built *dever le ponent, entre Calamata et la Grant Maigne.* At Leftro, which is the ancient Leuctron, there are fresh-water springs, and Kisterna is a common local name in Greece. It also belongs to the rock of Tigani which Buchon, who did not visit these sites in person, took for the site of Maigne. The Greek chronicle makes it clear that the castle of Maigne or Maina was near the great cave of Tænaron. Nicephorus Gregoras also refers to Maina as near the cape called Tænaron by the ancients. A passage in Pachymer, a contemporary author, referring to the surrender of territory by Villehardouin, makes it clear that there was still another Kisterna besides the one in the neighbourhood of Maina and the modern Porto-Kaio. The Prince, he says, undertook to give up Monemvasia, Maina, Gheraki, Mistra (Nauplia and Argos being in dispute), and at the same time the whole of the theme round Kisterna, being great in extent and full of all good things (Bk. I. ch. 31). This description suits the country round Leftro or Beaufort, but would not in any way be applicable to the stony wilderness of Maina.

There was a fortress at Maina already before the time of the Frankish occupation. The abbot Benedict of Peterborough in his life of Richard I., in describing the coasting itinerary of Romania, says, after passing Malea, "deinde gulfus de Witun et super gulfum illum est castellum bonum et forte, quod dicitur Mainæ, et gens mala ibi est" (Editio Hearne, Oxon. 1735, vol. ii. p. 685). From this it would appear that Kakovoulia Mani even in these early days enjoyed a sinister reputation. Witun is perhaps a corruption

of Gythion, the port of Laconia. But Hopf identifies it with Itylo in the Gulf of Calamata.

NOTE 12, VOL. I. p. 189.

Eubœa.

Mr. John Bury in his sketch of the "Lombards and Venetians in Eubœa," published in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vols. vii. and viii., adopts a similar hypothesis to that suggested in the text in order to explain the complicated situation which arose in 1255. He suggests that on the death of Berta, Guglielmo and Marino I. (or if he was dead, his son Narzotto) made a new arrangement by which (*a*) Grapella received a half-triarchy in southern Eubœa and married Guglielmo's daughter Margherita; (*b*) Carintana received a half-triarchy, but that instead of taking over her half in southern Eubœa, Marino or Narzotto acquired the southern half-barony and gave her in exchange half of the northern barony, including Oreos, which her father Rizzardo had held; (*c*) the claims of Felisa, Berta's younger sister, the wife of Otho de Cicon, were compromised by making Carystos an independent barony. The triarchy of Narzotto, and the triarchy of which Grapella eventually became possessed, would thus have consisted each of two halfs, not contiguous to each other. The difficulty in this hypothesis is that if Grapella had already been in possession of one half of the southern triarchy before the death of Carintana, Guillaume Villehardouin would on the outbreak of the quarrel have summoned him as well as Narzotto and Guglielmo, who are described as the *two* Terzieri, to the audience at which he caused them to be arrested. Grapella, however, was not included in the summons, Mr. Bury suggests that he summoned "*the two most prominent triarchs.*"

NOTE 13, VOL. II. p. 12.

(1) *Transfer of Sovereignty to Philip of Tarentum, dated October* 9, 1294.

"Totam terram, omnes superioritates, honores, dignitates, jurisdictiones, fidelitates, servitia et præstationes

homagiorum, ac jura quæcumque et actiones, quæ nobis in principatu Achaiæ, Ducatu Athenarum, Regno Albaniæ, Provincia Blachiæ, et in cœteris locis Imperii sen partium Romaniæ, tam in terra firma quam in insulis, ex quacumque causa, jure vel titulo nobis competunt, aut possint competere in futurum, quæ videlicet de demanio in demanium et quæ de servitio in servitium concedimus et donamus in feudum: cedentes sibi ex causa eadem jura et actiones omnes nobis competentes et competituras quomodo libet in præmissa, et ipsum in iis Procuratorem in rem suam per præsens privilegium facientes de paterna charitatis affectu et gratia speciali." (*Registre du Trésor des chartes du Roy*, cotté 49, No. 4. Publd. by Du Cange, *Histoire de l'Empire de Constantinople sous les Empereurs François.*)

In a rescript in which the transfer is notified to Guy II. of Athens and Hugues de Brienne as his guardian, it is stated that the rights of homage in question were conferred upon Philip as a fief of honour: "ut ea idem princeps Tarantinus filius noster a nobis et nostris in regno Sicilie heredibus in pheudum nobile teneat." (*Reg. Ang.*, No. 68, fol. 233, 1.)

Note 14, Vol. II. p. 51.

Rescript of Charles II. of 1304, *notifying the transfer of Achaia to Philip of Tarentum, made in* 1301, *on the occasion of Isabella's marriage, without his consent, to Philp of Savoy.* ("*Reg. Ang.*," 143, 1304 F, fol. 24.)

Pro principe Tarantino:

Karolus secundus etc Universis presens Privilegium inspecturis tam presentibus quam futuris officium paterne caritatis amonet et ratio naturalis indicit ut liberorum commoda potestas patria studiose promoveat et ipsorum augmenta sollerti attencione producat. Sane in concessione dudum facta per nos nobili mulieri Ysabelle filie quondam magnifici viri Guillelmi Achaje principis tempore contracti matrimonii inter eam et nobilem virum florencium de Ajnona militem de dicto scilicet principatu cum hominibus terris castris ac juribus et pertinenciis suis tunc ad manus nostras racionabiliter devoluto inter alia specialiter extitit

adjecta et a parte declarata condicio quid si eundem florencium eidem Ysabelle premori contingeret ipsaque vellet alteri maritari maritagium suam prius nobis aut heredibus nostris significare deberet, et cum quo ut inde haberet a nobis aut nostris heredibus responsales et hoc idem observari debebat in persona tam filie ipsius Ysabelle quam neptis aut ex ea per descendentem lineam nasciture si contingeret ipsam filiam sive neptem heredem dicti principatus existere ut non nuberet alicui nisi prius inde consciencia nobis et dictis heredibus nostris fieret et inde nostrum haberet super matrimonio ipso responsum et si contrarium fieret per eamdem Ysabellam aut filiam aut neptem ex ipsa per descendentem lineam ut premictitur nascituras a jure dicti principatus caderent per convenienciam habitam ipso jure. De inde autem secutum est quod mortuo dicto florencio viro suo eadem Ysabella veniens contra formam et tenorem convencionis hujus modi philippo de Sabaudia militi nuper sit[1] et eidem se prout sibi placuit matrimonialiter copulavit non solum nihil inde majestati nostre significans prout ex vigore premisse convencionis erat astricta quin immo nobis inhibentibus id expresse. Cum ergo eadem jsabella ex pretacte condicionis adjecto a jure dicti principatus accidisse racionabiliter dignoscatur et per consequens principatus ipse sit ad manus nostras ex causa eadem legitime devolutus nos principatum ipsum cum hominibus castris terris villis honoribus fundis possessionibus juribus justiciis racionibus et pertinenciis omnibus ad eumdem principatum spectantibus cujus quidem prestacionem feudalis servicii nobis pro ipso principatu debiti fidelitatis quoque et homagii concesseramus hactenus philippo filio nostro carissimo principe Tarantine[2] eidem principi ac suis heredibus utriusque sexus ex suo corpore legitime descendentibus natis et etiam nascituris imperpetuum damus donamus tradimus et ex causa donacionis proprii motus instincto de novo concedimus de paterne caritatis affectu, liberalitate mera et gracia speciali transferentes et cedentes in eum dictosque heredes suos omne jus et actionem realem et personalem utilem et directum quod et que nobis seu curie nostre in principatu ipso ex

[1] *Nuper sit—?* nupsit.

[2] *Principe Tarantini—?* principi Tarantino.

premissa causa vel alia racionabili[1] competere dignoscuntur principem ipsum in rem suam procuratorem exinde facientes et investientes Johannem pipinum de Barulo militem magne curie nostre magistrum racionalem recipientem nomine ipsius principis nunc absentis et heredum suorum per nostrum anulum de eodem. Ita quidem quod postquam idem princeps vel dicti heredes ipsius possessionem adepti fuerint ejusdem principatus achaye temporalem ipsi principatum cum hominibus terris castris villis honoribus feudis juribus justiciis ac pertinenciis omnibus supra dictis et nobis et nostris in regno sicilie heredibus et successoribus tenere debeant nullumque alium preter nos heredes ac successores nostras superiorem ac dominum exinde recognoscant, et servire immediate nobis ac eisdem nostris heredibus et successoribus teneantur de illo scilicet feudali servicio quod prestare dicta ysabellâ secundum dicte concessionis formam nobis et eisdem nostris heredibus et successoribus tenebatur quod quidem servicium idem princeps post prefatam concessionem nostram postquam ad presenciam nostram venit pro se dictisque suis heredibus nobis et eisdem nostris heredibus ac successoribus facere obtulit et promisit—non obstante quod ante donacionem presentem perstacionem ejusdem feudalis servicii nobis et heredibus nostris pro principatu ipso debiti concesseramus eidem principi ut prefertur per aliud scilicet privilegium nostrum datum aquile anno domini M° ducentessimo nonagessimo quarto die tercio decimo Augusti septime indictionis—In cujus rei testimonium et prefati principis ac heredum suorum cautelam presens privilegium exinde fieri et pendenti sigillo majestatis nostre jussimus communiri alio privilegio consimile sub aurea bulla ejusdem majestatis nostre impresse thipario dato sibi exinde ad cautelam actum Calvi anno domini M° CCC° I° die VI februarii quarte decime indictionis regnorum nostrorum anno XVII° presentibus venerabili in Christo patre[2] petro episcopo . . . regni sicilie cancellario et viro nobile Lodoyco de Sabaudia consanguineo et predicto Johanne pipino de Barolo militibus dilectis consiliariis familiaribus et fidelibus nostris. Datum vero avese per manus Bartholomei

[1] *Racionabili—?* racionabiliter.

[2] This appears to be *pater* in the MS.

de Capua militis logothete et prothonotarii regni Sicilie anno domini M° CCC° IIII° die nono octobris III^e^ indictionis—Regnorum nostrorum anno vicessimo.

NOTE 15, VOL. II. p. 151.

Convention between King Robert and Mahaulte of Hainault, embodied in a rescript of Charles of Calabria, acting as regent for his father, drawn up for the guidance of Ligorio Guindazzo, proceeding as bailie to Achaia. ("*Reg. Ang.*," 233, folio 140.) *The text is in many places corrupt.*

Convenciones et pacta principatus Achaje:

Karolus etc. tenore presencium notum facimus universis quod olim inter inclitum principem dominum Robertum, Dei gratia Jerusalem et Sicilie regem, illustrem nostrum genitorem et dominum reverendum, ante suum de regno dissensum ea una parte, et egregiam mulierem dominam Matthidim de Anonia principissam principatus Achaje ex altera, de dicto principatu, qui ad ipsum dominum genitorem nostrum jure directi dominii pertinere dignosciter, certe convenciones fuerunt habite, de quibus confecta fuerunt tunc sub sigillis eorumdem domini regis et principisse ac plurimum aliorum tria puplica consimilia instrumenta, quorum uno penes ipsum dominum genitorem nostrum retento, alio dicte principisse tradito, tercium ad partes dicti principatus Achaje, ut de convencionibus ipsis in eisdem partibus haberetur plena noticia, fuit transmissum; ut igitur dominus Ligorius Guindacius de Neapoli, vicarius gubernator et amministrator per nos in dicto principatu noviter ordinatus, informatorem habere valeat de hiis que sibi ex vigore convencionum ipsarum agendo incumbent dicti officii racione, convenciones hujusmodi de verbo ad verbum nil adito vel mutato presentibus in sui jussimus, quarum tenor per omnia talis est, videlicet; quod principatus idem et ipsius domini regis defensione favore protempcione presidio fulceretur sicque post examinaciones varias est finaliter et amabiliter concordatum, quod prefatus dominus rex gubernet et amministret seu gubernari et amministrari faciat, prout infra

sequitur, dictum principatum Achaje, cum castris homagiis juribus et pertinenciis suis omnibus, per gentes ministros et officiales suos, et eadem principissa ex nunc presencialiter tradit assignat et liberat dictum principatum, cum omnibus castris juribus et pertinenciis suis, dicto domino regi presenti et recipienti defendendum regendum et gubernandum per eumdem dominum regem vel successores ipsius, gentes ministros et officiales eorum, secundum justiciam et bonos et laudabiles usus et consuetudines dicti principatus Achaje, hac quidem convencione et condicione sub nectis, quod dicta principissa faciat et constituat unum thesaurarium, virum fidelem et ydoneum, qui percipiat omnes (?) fructus redditus et proventus ac obvenciones quaslibet, de ipso principatu et ejus pertinenciis obventuros, qui faciat ad mandatum et requisicionem vicarii domini regis ejusdem, faciendi per eum vel heredes suos in principatu predicto, omnes expensas necessarias et opportunas, que pro manutencione defensione gubernacione administracione et precipue castrorum custodiâ principatus ejusdem necessarie fuerint, vel quomodo libet oportune; sic ejusdem quod dictus vicarius regius, pro cura gubarnacione et amministracione sui officii et defensione principatus ejusdem, habere debeat equites quinquaginta et pedites servientes armigeros centum preter servientes castrorum, cui vicario unciam auri mediam per diem pro se et familia sua (? word omitted). Item thesaurarius ad mandata et requisicionem ejusdem vicarii de pecunia principatus ipsius et pro predictis quinquaginta equitibus et servientibus armigeris centuna consueta gagia sine contradictionis obstaculo exhibebit; ac condicione et exceptione subjuncta quod dicta principissa teneat gubernet et amministret, per se gentes ministros et officiales suos sicut sibi melius expedire videbitur et prout hactenus consuevit, castellaniam Calamate sitam in eodem principatu cum omnibus juribus et pertinenciis suis, nec illam domino regi prefato, in amministracione gubernacione et curâ presencialiter tradere teneatur, et si quidem inter spectabilem virum dominum Johannem—natum clare memorie domini Karoli secundi Jerusalem et Sicilie regis illustris, Gravine et Eboli comitem, ac honoris Montis Sancti Angeli dominum, dicti domini regis germanum—et eamdem principissam

sponsam ejus per sponsalia de presenti contracta matrimonium carnaliter consumetur, idem dominus rex et heredes ipsius restituent dictis domino comiti et principisse conjugibus jamdictum principatum, cum hominibus juribus racionibus et pertinenciis suis, sine omni lite de aliquo casu vel culpa preterita per quam diceretur seu dici posset dictam principissam a jure dicti principatus racionabiliter cecidisse: si vero sponsalia ipsa de presenti contracta per ecclesiam solverentur, restitucio principatus jam dicti, cum hominibus juribus et pertinenciis suis, fiet similiter principisse preferte tenende per ipsam in vita sua sicut superius prelibatur, salvis semper in omnibus et per omnia juribus spectabilis viri domini Philippi Tarenthini principis, germani dicti domini regis, et regis ipsius, ac heredum magnifici viri domini Lodovici de Burgundia, anterioris mariti principisse prefate, et ipsius eciam principisse: quod si forte prefatus dominus rex vel heredes ejus vellent totum predictum principatum habere pro se et suis heredibus, habeant de hoc pro sua voluntate licenciam, sic tamen quod idem dominus rex prius eidem principisse in vita sua tam modo secundum communem concordiam vel quatuor arbitratorum eligendorum, contra excambium dare competens in terra vel pecunia teneatur: promisit tamen principissa ipsi domino regi presenti, ac se et bona sua obligavit expresse ac corporali prestito in testimonio publico juramento firmavit, quod ipsam dictam castellaniam Calamate vel aliquod castrum ad cum pertinens, cum eorum juribus et pertinenciis non alienabit aut obligabit, aut per quamcumque viam alienaciones cessiones in aliquam personas (*sic*) transferret quoquomodo sine noticia et consensu regis ejusdem vel heredum ipsius, actum eciam et concordatum utrinque quod liceat principisse prefate si voluerit memoratam castellaniam Calamate cum juribus et pertinenciis suis dare concedere et tradere Margarite de Sabaudia, uterine sorori sue, cum debito et consueto servicio de toto dicto principatu Castellaniam ipsam pro rata racionabiliter contingente; ita quidem quod ipsa Margarita renunciet omni juri si quod habet vel habere possit in posterum in principatu ipso vel ejus pertinenciis memoratis, quodque ligium homagium et sacramentum fidelitatis pro Castellania predicta (et?) pro ejus pertinenciis

dictis domino regi et ejus heredibus facere adstringatur; et si dicto domino regi placuerit quandocumque qualibet dilacione regesta dictam Castellaniam cum juribus et pertinenciis ejus habere pro se suis et heredibus de hoc licenciam habeat expeditam, sic tamen ut ipsi principisse idem rex vel heredes ipsius annuum valorem quingentarum unciarum in terris et bonis fiscalibus regni Sicilie citra farum prius dare tradere et assignare in hereditagium pro recompensacionis vice in excambium teneatur, vel realem assignacionem earundem quingentarum unciarum auri in cabellis suis regalibus facere, donec earumdem unciarum auri quingentarum ipsi principisse in eisdem terris et bonis fiat per eumdem dominum regem et heredes suos assignacio seu acceptacio manualis; et ubi dictus dominus rex, vel heredes ipsius, vellet et eligeret Margarite prefate dictas quingentas uncias in eodem regno modo et forma predictis in terram vel pecuniam dare concedere tradere seu assignare, liberam de hoc habeat facultatem, nec eo casu dicta principissa potestatem habeat castellaniam ipsam nec aliqua ejus jura ac pertinencias in eandem Margaritam vel heredes suos aliquatenus transferendi, et eciam in convencione deducto quod castellanius et servientes castrorum ipsius castellanie Calamate teneantur ex proprio sacramento firmare dicto vicario, statuendo per dictum regem prefatum, aut ejus heredes vel aliorum, quem idem rex vel heredes statuent, quod dicta castra fideliter custodientur et conservabuntur, nec illa restituent ipsis domine principisse vel Margarite, aut aliis quibuscumque personis contra formam et modum in presentibus convencionibus annotatas; et si forte castellani predicti decesserint vel recesserint substituti de novo ydonei et fideles semel et plures teneantur sacramentum hujusmodi renovare; illo ex ultraque parte expresso specialiter et convencionaliter reservato quod non licet principisse jamdicte castellaniam ipsam vel predictum excambium in prelibatam Margaritam sororem suam vel ejus heredes per aliquam speciem alienacionis quoquomodo transferre nisi vellet aliam (? illam) ipsius sui renunciare sorori vel ejus heredibus, quo casu idem dominus rex vel ejus heredes sui si sibi placuerit jamdictum excambium forma et modo prefatis prius dare seu assignare Margarite prefate et ejus heredes (? heredibus)

convencionabiliter astringantur, rato eciam expresse inter ipsam principissam et predictum dominum regem quod si interim medio tempore quod obsit dicta domina principissa moriretur dicta Castellania ad dictam Margaritam pervenire debeat et heredes suos, cui excambium pro predicta castellania debet dominus rex predictus prout superius est expressum et etiam mutuo concordatum . . . omnes donaciones seu largiciones factas per eamdem principissam et dictum quondam Ludovicum virum suum in eodem principatu et pertinenciis et de inde idem dominus rex debeat confirmare et ratificare, et illas ex nunc pro ut ex tunc ratificat et confirmat usque scilicet ad summam annuarum unciarum quingentarum, salvis et consuetis serviciis debitis de illis terris et bonis que per ipsam principissam ejusque virum ut predicitur sunt donate, sic equidem ut si in electione et provisione principisse prefate quibus personis (?) eedem donaciones seu largiciones usque ad eamdem summam quingentarum unciarum auri per predictum dominum regem debeant confirmari; ex ejusdem quoque communicationis vigore prefatus dominus rex confirmavit et ratificavit expresse omnes obligaciones factas per ipsam principissam et prefatum olim maritum ipsius de terris possessionibus sive bonis principatus ejusdem propter guerram agitatam in ibi (?) vel aliam et quod nominentur adstringentur terre et possessiones et bona predicta, et eadem obligacio seu pignoracio summa[m ?] Septingentarum unciarum auri aliquatenus non excedat; illa eciam expressum (?) in convencione subjuncta quod liceat prefato domino regi et suis heredibus soluto per ipsos precio quo terre et possessiones predicte obligate sunt, fructibus redditibus modo preceptis per creditores eosdem quibus obligate sunt dicte possessiones racionabiliter compensatis, ad jus et manus dicti principatus quantocumque visum fuerit, revocare: promisit eciam et convenit dominus rex jamdictus pro principissa predicta domino Riccardo de Menavia militi et familiari suo, propter grata sibi per eum impensa servicia, et suis heredibus, de terris et bonis principatus ipsius in ordinata et conjuncta forma usque ad summum annuarum unciarum auri viginti quinque concedere, valeat et donare (?) vel si eam eidem domino Riccardo donavit idem dominus

rex usque ad predictam summam ratificat et acceptat: que predicte convenciones et pacta ac omnia alia singula predicta prefata principissa tactis per eam corporaliter sacrosanctis evangeliis, predicto domino regi presenti, sponte juravit omni tempore rata grata et firma habere et tenere ac ipsa et ipsorum quodlibet dicto domino regi et ejus heredibus inviolabiliter observare, sub pena unciarum auri quatuor milium per ipsam principissam et ejus heredes si secus modo (*sic*) [inde?] fieret predicto domino regi vel ejus heredibus ejus (*sic*) solvenda, ipso domino rege penam ipsam ab eadem principissâ pro se et heredibus ejus solemniter et legitime stipulanti nihilominus ratis remanentibus omnibus supradictis. Et converso prefatus dominus rex premisso convenciones et pacta omnia alia et singula supradicta promisit et convenit solemniter omni tempore rata grata et firma habere et tenere et ipsa et ipsorum quemlibet dicte principisse presenti et ejus heredibus inviolabiliter observare sub pena aliarum unciarum quatuor milium per ipsum dominum regem, si secus inde fieret, dicte principisse vel ejus heredibus solvenda, predicta domina principissa penam ipsam at eodem domino rege pro se et ejis heredilus solemniter et legitime stipulanti nihilominus eciam ratis manentibus supradictis, et de predictis et eorum singulis per eumdem dominum regem firmiter observandis et de contra non venendo modo quocumque, nobilis vir Johannes de Loja Cambellanus et magister ostiarius predicti domini regis, de voluntate et mandato dicti domini regis presentis, tactis per eumdem dominum corporaliter sacrosanctis evangeliis, in anima predicti domini regis eidem principisse presenti sponte juravit. In cujus rei testimonium presentes licteras fieri pendenti sigillo vicarii quo utimur jussimus communiri: Datum Neapoli (per) dominum Bartholomeum de Capua etc. anno domini M°CCCXXI Die XVIII junii IIII° indictionis. Regnorum dicti domini patris nostri anno XIII.

NOTE 16, VOL. II. p. 205.

The Domains and Fiefs of the Principality of Achaia. List drawn up for Marie of Bourbon, in the year 1364. *Discovered in the Maltese Archives, as a cover to a volume of receipts for the year* 1561, *and published by Hopf, in "Chroniques Gréco-Romanes."*

QUESTI SONO LI CASTELLI CHE MADAMA AVE IN LO PRINCIPATO DE ACHAIA.

Primo in ello piano della Morea—

Lo castello de Claramonte apud Clarenza. (Clairmont or Chlomoutzi.)

Lo castello de Sancto Homero. (St. Omer, in the western valley of the Scollis, a tributary of the Peneius; now Sandameri.)

In ella Grisera. (Vlisiri, a town not far from Pyrgo, which gave its name to a district.)

Lo castello de Belvedere dicto Pontichio. (Pondikocastro or Beauvoir.[1])

Lo castello della Montangia delle Monache.

Lo castello di Belloreguardo. (The castle of Elis, still known as Kaloscopi, Beau-Regard of the Franks.[1])

Lo castello de Vunerio. (A fief called Vounarvi was assigned by William Villehardouin to his Turkish auxiliaries.)

Lo castello de Chillidonij. (The name, the Swallow Castle, recalls the mountain of Chelydorea in the Pheneatiæ.)

In la Scorta—

Lo castello de lo Polcellecto. (Bucelet, the pre-Frankish Araklovon).

Lo castello della Smirina. (On the mountain of Smerna, south of Olympia, is a Palaeocastro known as Kaiapha (Leake, *Morea*, i. 52–3), but this could scarcely be included in Escorta.)

[1] The name Perigardi, which occurs in the Greek chronicle, would do for either Beauvoir or Beau-Regard, and in view of their vicinity to one another it is difficult to determine which of the two is indicated.

Lo castello de Crepacore. (Crève-cœur. See p. 45 and note.)

Lo castello della Cumba.

Lo castello della Pigria.

Lo castello de Ferro. (Siderocastro. There is a Siderocastro some five miles inland from the west coast, between the rivers Neda and Arkadia, but it seems questionable whether the region of Escorta extended so far to the west.)

In Calamata—

Lo castello de Calamata.

Lo castello de Porto de Junco. (Zonklon, Avarino, or Navarino.)

La torre de Mayna. (Apparently a fortress to defend the district from aggression from the inhabitants of Maina, as Grande Maigne had long been in the hands of the Greeks.)

Questi so li castelli de li baroni en Morea—

Del frere de Sanct Jehan.

Lo castello de Paleopuli. (The name is common in the Morea. The site of Mantinea is now called Paleopoli.)

Lo castello della Fustena.

Lo castello novo de Messer Marchisano.

De messer Centurione (Zaccaria)—

La Caladritza. (Chalandritza; now Saino-Castro.)

La Stamirra. (This name looks like a corruption of St. Omer, Sandameri. There were probably other St. Omer castles besides the one above referred to.)

La Lissarea. (Lisarea was a fief belonging to the barony of Passava, but there is a Lysaria a few miles north-west of Chalandritza, which is doubtless the one here referred to.)

Delle Singior della Avostiza del la da Patraxo—

La Avosticza. (Vostitza.)

Sancto Nicola de lo Fflacto. (Apparently Fflacto represents Phylacto.)

Le Fortize de Archivescovo de Patraxo—

Lo castello del Cactaficho.

Lo castello dello Castri. (Probably Casteli or Castro Moréos, the modern name of Rhium.)
Lo castello de Ferro sopra Patrasso. (Siderocastro, which still exists five or six miles south of Patrus.)
Lo castello de la Caminza. (Camenitza, near the mouth of the river of that name, the ancient Peirus.)
Lo castello della Torre del Bosco.
Lo castello del piano de Patrasso.

In ella Grisera—
Lo castello de Sancto Elya de Messer Nicola Alamagno.
Lo castello De Joya de Messer Jacobo de Joya.
Lo castello del Fanari del Singior de la Avosticza. (A castle on Mount Fanaritiko or Zakkuka (ancient Cotylius) west of Andritzena.)
La terra de la Christiana dello Grant Senescallo (Acciajuoli). (Krestena, about five miles south of Olympia.)

In La Scorta—
Lo castello de Scala de Messer Janni Misido. (The village of Skala is on the right bank of the river Mavro, which joins the Pamisus, about half-way between Mount Makry-plagi and Ithome.)

In Calamata del Singior dell' Archadia. (Érard Lenoir.)
Lo castello della Archadia. (Arkadia, ancient *Cyparissia.*)
Lo castello de Sancto Salvatore.
Lo castello della Aquila. (A large village called Aetos lies in the mountains five or six miles south-east of Arkadia.)

Del gran Senescallo—
Lo castello de Sancto Archangelo.
Lo castello de Bulcano. (Vurcano: Messene.)

De Messer Janni Misido—
Lo castello del Grebinj. (Grevena.)
Lo castello della Turchata.

In la castellania de Coranto del gran Senescallo—
Lo castello de Coranto. (Corinth.)
Lo castello de Malvicino presso a Coranto.
Lo castello de Basilicata. (Sicyon.)
Lo castello de Sancto Basile.

Lo castello de Sancto Georgio de Polifengno. (Polifengo, Polyphant, of the French chronicle. See p. 53 of text).
Lo castello de Sercastelli.
Lo castello de Angelo Castro. (South-east of Corinth, on the northern slopes of Mount Trapezona.)
Lo castello de Pregata.
Lo castello de lo Ligorio. (Ligurio (ancient *Lessa*), on the road from Nauplia to Epidaurus; probably the southernmost point of the captanate.)

Del Lonte de Cupersano (Conversano)—
Lo castello d'Argo.
Lo castello de Napoli de Romania (Nauplia).

There is no reference here to the great castle of Thermisi, to the south of the promontory of Troezen, opposite the island of Hydra, which no doubt took its name from the temple of Demeter Thermasia. But it must have been built at this time, as it is mentioned in the will of Gautier II. de Brienne.

Note 17, Vol. II. p. 221.

The Navarrese Company.

The origin of the Navarrese Company must be traced, in spite of the efforts of Hopf to prove the contrary, to the Navarrese prince, Louis d'Évreux. The Infant Louis was the younger son of Philip III. d'Évreux, the Good, King of Navarre (1328-1343), and brother of Charles II., the Bad. When his brother was involved in war with Charles V. of France, Louis distinguished himself at the head of a band of twelve hundred men, raised in his own country, with whom he raided Auvergne. After peace had been re-established in 1366, he married Joan, the eldest daughter and heiress of Charles of Durazzo, whom Louis of Hungary had put to death in 1348, as responsible for the murder of his brother Andreas. According to the eighteenth-century compiler of the annals of Navarre, P. Francisco Aleson, he then went to reside in Naples, taking with him a large military retinue, composed for the most part of Navarrese. A great part of the duchy of Durazzo and its appurtenances in Epirus

had now fallen into the hands of the Albanian chief Carlo Thopia, to whose arms Durazzo, which had long held out, reinforced no doubt by the Navarrese, also succumbed in 1368. Louis d'Évreux did not relax his efforts to recover his wife's inheritance, but little or nothing is known of the sequence of events until the years 1375 and 1376, when there is evidence that a supreme effort was made to re-establish his ascendency in Albania with the support of his brother the King of Navarre. Hopf indeed has laid it down, both in his history and in the genealogical tables published in his *Chroniques Gréco-Romanes*, that Louis d'Évreux died in 1372, basing this assumption on certain documents in the Angevine Register. But it has been shown by the erudite Spanish historian D. Antonio Rubio y Lluch that he was still alive in 1376, and all the evidence points to his having died at the end of that year, probably during the campaign in Albania. A document in the archives of the Camara de Comptos of Pampeluna states definitely that Don Louis died in 1376, and that his obsequies took place on the 12th of November of that year, and that his brother Charles II. provided money for masses for the repose of his soul. Another document in the same archives contains an account of moneys advanced in November 1376 for the journey of emissaries sent by Charles II. to Rome and Naples to verify the fact of his brother's death (*Los Navarres en Grecia*. Barcelona, 1886. P. 34, notes, and p. 209). The same author has published a record preserved in the Pampeluna archives of a list of payments made to various Navarrese captains in 1375 and the first half of 1376 for the expenses of troops conducted by them to Albania and for their shipment (*op. cit.*, p. 211-215). From this list it appears that Mahiot de Coquerel, chamberlain of the King of Navarre—the Maiotto di Coccarelli who was afterwards the bailie of Jacques de Baux in Romania—was among those who started in the spring of 1376, and was in high favour with Don Louis, "por la bona boluntat que eill na de servir al Rey e a mi dicto seynnor de duraz." This last reinforcement sent to Albania seems to have consisted of 400 men-at-arms. These, added to the Navarrese already in the service of Don Louis, with a certain number of auxiliaries from Naples, no doubt

constituted the famous Navarrese Company. After the death of the Infant in 1376 the fate of his mercenaries becomes obscure. It is possible that they continued for a time to serve his widow, the Duchess Joan of Durazzo, who, after her first husband's death, contracted a second marriage with Count Robert of Artois. It is possible that they maintained a precarious existence in Epirus; living on the country as the Catalans had done after their dismissal from the service of the Emperor. In any case there is only a period of four years to account for before a Navarrese company, at the head of which figures in an administrative capacity the same Mahiot de Coquerel, reappears in 1380, engaged in the service of Jacques de Baux to vindicate his claims in Romania. The captains Varvassa and Pierre de San Superan are now mentioned for the first time. The fact that San Superan had received the citizenship of Bordeaux from the Black Prince suggests the presumption that he was a soldier of fortune who sought mercenary occupation elsewhere on the termination of the long war between England and France. Gregorovius in his *Stadt Athen*, vol. ii. p. 207, criticises Hopf for a statement made by him in 1863 to the effect that San Superan only came to Greece in 1385, ignoring apparently that in his great historical work he had revised this opinion. It is probable that the Pampeluna archives, which do not appear to have been exhaustively investigated, may yet yield a considerable amount of evidence as to the origin of the Navarrese Company.

Note 18, Vol. II. p. 230.

Origin of the name Navarino.

Hopf (*Griechenland*, vol. vii. p. 24) says that after the Navarrese occupation the castle was called "Chasteaux Navarres," which was corrupted into Navarrino. This explanation, though plausible, seems very doubtful. The Navarrese only came there in 1381, and the chronicle composed in the early years of the same century refers to the building by Nicholas II. de St. Omer of the castle τοῦ Ἀβαρίνου. The name seems to imply some previous settle-

ment of Avars on the spot. Leake (*Morea*, i. 411) accounts for the initial N by the attachment of the final letter of the article in the common Romaic locative, *εἰς τὸν Ἀβαρῖνον*, a transformation with which may be compared Negripont, which the *lingua franca* barbarously evolved from *εἰς τὸν Εὔριπον*. Another suggested etymology is Neo-Avarino. The bay was known in Frankish times as Port de Junch or Zonklon, and the castle apparently as Avarino. It is probably only a curious coincidence that the Navarrese should have established themselves in a castle called Avarino, and corrupted in the *lingua franca* into Navarino. The castle itself was known as Junke or Zonklon early in the fifteenth century. It is referred to in the *Way to Jerusalem*, an early English poem of that time published by Purchas:

> "The castell of Junke, they saie soo
> That longeth the king of Naverre too."

NOTE 19, VOL. II. p. 245.

The Domains of the Princes of Achaia. A list prepared for Amedeo of Savoy in 1391, *preserved in the Royal Archives at Turin* (*Acaja, Mazzo* iii. N. 6), *and published by Hopf in his "Chroniques Gréco-Romanes" (also published, but incorrectly, by Guichenon and Buchon).*

LES EXCADENCES QUI SUNT AU PRINCE DE LA MORÉE.

Premièrement: La Voustice avec ses pertinances, lesqueux tient le vicaire ou sont environ 200 feux. (*The vicar at this time was Pierre de San Superan. The Navarrese had taken Vostitza from Nerio Acciajuoli on their first arrival in the Morea*).

La Beguche, leguel tient le vicaire, ou sont environ 40 feux.

La Oréole. Le frère de mesire Assane (*Zaccaria*) le tient par sa femme, 120 feux.

Chastel Neuf. Nyco de Tarent le tient de par le vicaire, 300 feux.

Le Flacto (*? Phylacto*). Johent de Villart le tient par le vicaire, 200 feux.

Le Chastel de les Portes. Jaco de Chypre le tient pour le vicaire, 100 feux.

La Tour de la Gastogne (*Gastouni*). Hugues d'Alex la tient, 30 feux.

Saincte Elie. Le vicaire le tient, 40 feux.

La Tour de Gosenice. Perrot de Unay la tient, 50 feux.

La Tour de la Christianice (*Krestena*). Johant d'Ayan la tient, 80 feux. (A Juan de Han appears in the list of captains enrolled in 1375 for service in Albania under Louis d'Évreux preserved in the archives at Pampeluna. See note 17.)

La Mandricé. Johane d'Agou la tient, 100 feux.

La Combe. Le Moyne de Pollay la tient, 100 feux.

Le Stala (?*Scala, in Escorta*). Ele fu de Johant Misto, et la tient Bertronat Mota, 40 feux.

La Biquoque. Nycole le-Fort la tient, 40 feux.

La Tour, qui fut de mesire Nycholas Moche, 25 feux.

La Fenare (*Fanari*). Guillaume de la Forest la tient, 150 feux.

Saint-Archangel. Le vicaire le tient, 100 feux.

Le Gravenil (*Grebini, Grevena*). Le vicaire la tient, et fu de Johant Misto, 200 feux.

La Turtada (*Turchata*). Le vicaire la tient, et fu de Johant Misto, 100 feux.

La Molines. Le vicaire la tient, et fu de Johant Misto, 40 feux.

LES LIEUX DU PROPRE DOMAINE EN LADICTE PROVINCE.

Clairence. Le vicaire la tient, 300 feux.

Clarmont. Barthe Bonvin le tient.

Belveder (*Pondikocastro*). Le vicaire la tient, 50 feux.

Saint-Homer. Le vicaire le tient, 500 feux.

Porcelle (Bucelet). Le seigneur de l'Artadie (Arcadie) le tient et sest en l'Escorto, 100 feux.

Castel-de-Fer (*Siderocastro*). Le seigneur de l'Arcadie le tient et sest en l'Escorte, 150 feux.

La Praye. Le seigneur d'Arcadie le tient et sest en l'Escorte, 200 feux.

Druse (*Androusa*). Le vicaire le tient, 300 feux.

Port-Jonc (*Avarino*). Le Moyne et Johant d'Ayne le tiennent.
Calemate. Le vicaire le tient, 300 feux.
Le Magne. Le despote la tient, 40 feux.[1]
Beau Regart (*Elis*). Le Moyne la tient, 30 feux.

Les hommages des barons.

Seigneuries laïques—
Le duc d'Athines.
Le duc de l'Archipelage.
Le duc de Leucade.
Le Marquis de Bondenice.
Le comte de Cephallonie.
La Comtesse de la Solle.
Le Seigneur de l'Arcadie.
La illa de Négrepont.
Le sire de la Calandrice.
La baronnie de Patras.

Seigneuries ecclésiastiques—
L'évesque de Modon.
L'évesque de Coron.
L'évesque d'Holein.

Ordres Militaires—
Le Commandeur des Alemans.
Le Commandeur de Rodes, tant chevalier à servir.

[1] Theodore Palæologus.

APPENDIX II

THE CHRONICLE OF MOREA

Date and Priority of the various Versions. Conjectured Authorship.

THE earliest students of the chronicle, Buchon, Finlay, and Hopf, assumed that the French prose version was the original text, and in this they have been followed by Tozer. The first to call in question this assumption was Dr. Ellissen, in his *Analekten der mittel und neugriechischen Literatur.* The carefully reasoned study of Dr. John Schmitt (*Die Chronik von Morea:* München, 1899) has since contributed a series of conclusive arguments which place beyond any reasonable doubt the priority of a Greek text, though not one precisely identical with either of the texts which have come down to us, as the original version of the chronicle.[1]

The contentions of Dr. Ellissen may be summarised as follows. The identity of the French prose and the Greek verse chronicle is indisputable, but it must not therefore be laid down, as was done by Buchon and his followers, that the Greek version is merely a translation from the French. There are important chronological indications, peculiar to one or other of the versions, which strongly militate against such a theory, and it would be more logical to assume that a still older original at one time existed, to which moreover the history of Dorotheus of Monemvasia is perhaps indebted for one or two facts not found in the Greek versions. The

[1] Dr. Schmitt's arguments here exposed have since been supplemented in the introduction to his critical edition of the Chronicle of the Morea. (Methuen, 1904.)

argument adduced by Buchon to prove that the Greek was derived from the French, namely, that the Greek author mutilated French proper names while the French author rendered the Greek names by correct French synonyms, is not altogether an accurate statement, nor does it prove what he sought to establish. His reasons for assigning a later date to the Greek version which he assumed to be a translation, based on internal chronological evidence, are also inconclusive. From an indication in the French text that Catherine de Valois was still alive as the widow of Philip of Tarentum when it was written, Buchon fixed upon a date between 1331 and 1346, the years in which husband and widow respectively died. On the other hand he contends that the Greek metrical chronicle cannot be dated earlier than the last years of the fourteenth century, because at the end of the long passage which records the struggle of a younger Geoffroy de Bruyères to recover the barony of Carytena, one of his descendants, Érard Lenoir de St. Sauveur, who is known to have died in 1391,[1] is referred to in the past tense as having been a good lord. But this episode, which in the Paris MS. is appended at the conclusion of the poem as a sort of annex, which in the Copenhagen MS. is inserted more or less in its appropriate place, and in the otherwise synoptic history of Dorotheus is altogether omitted, has all the characteristics of a later interpolation. In any case, the genealogical details with which the passage ends must be an addition, the reference to Érard Lenoir not being found at all in the Copenhagen MS. It is hardly conceivable that these verses could have been written at the same period as the line which refers, in an earlier digression on the taking of Athens by the Catalans, to the company as being still in possession of Duke Walter's land (7295). Buchon himself at one time held this latter passage to be evidence that the Greek chronicle was written before the occupation became a permanent settlement (Ed. of 1841, preliminary note), much more therefore before Athens passed to the younger princes of the Sicilian House of Aragon. Even if in a certain sense the Sicilian rulers might be regarded as carrying

[1] This is again an error of Buchon. The date should be 1388.

on the continuity of Catalan occupation, the passage could not in any case date from the last years of the fourteenth century, when the Florentine Nerio Acciajuoli had replaced the Sicilian princes and expelled the last of the Catalans. This digression, however, may itself be also a later interpolation in the Greek chronicle. But if the latter were a mere translation of the French chronicle, as we know it, where did the translator find all those important details concerning the earliest period of the Frankish occupation, on which the pretended French original is silent; such, for instance, as the account of the battle in the olive wood of Condura, the taking of Arkadia, Veligosti, Nikli, and Lacedæmonia, the dispute between Geoffrey Villehardouin II. and the clergy? And why, leaving out of count certain digressions and probable interpolations, does the narrative only take us to 1292 in the Greek version, as it does in the history of Dorotheus, while in the pretended French original the story is carried on till 1303 and is continued in a chronological summary up to 1322?[1]

In conclusion, Ellissen inclines to the theory of an older original document, recording events only up to 1292, because the writer's personal experience extended no further, from which, perhaps, the history of Dorotheus was directly derived, as well as the Greek and French versions as we now have them, the former supplemented by certain digressions and additions of a later date, the latter modified by many omissions and abbreviations, but carried on up to the time when the author was at work.

Before entering more minutely into the question at issue between Buchon and his school on the one hand and Ellissen and Schmitt on the other, one or two considerations suggested by a comparative study of the two Greek texts must be stated, in justification of the conclusions put forward in the introduction with regard to their inter-relation. The Greek poem presented to us in the MS. of the Copenhagen Library, which from chronological indications in the text appears to have been written between 1311 and 1331, as will

[1] With regard to this part of Ellissen's argument, it must be admitted that the Copenhagen MS., the oldest of the Greek texts, is obviously incomplete.

be seen hereafter, was evidently not the work nor transcribed from the work of a Greek, but of a Greek-speaking Frank or Gasmule, with strongly marked western and Catholic sentiments. It is written exclusively in the Frankish interest, and abounds in passages in which the character of the Greeks and their national church are held up to obloquy (*cp.* lines 758-826, 1249 *sq.*, and many similar passages). It is faulty in prosody, being full of lines of thirteen and eighteen syllables, and often difficult to read metrically without constant ellipsis. If it be admitted that many of the faults of prosody are due probably to the careless transcription of ignorant copyists, it is in any case clear that the general orthography, grammar, and syntax are of a primitive character, and it is indeed difficult to conceive on what grounds Buchon could have ventured to maintain that in style the Copenhagen MS. is superior to that of the Paris Library.

The Paris version on the other hand, which cannot from internal evidence have been produced earlier than the last decade of the fourteenth century, would seem to be from the hand of a Greek of some slight erudition. The passages conspicuously hostile to the Greek nation and church, which characterise the Copenhagen text, are here partially suppressed. Where they are reproduced they are toned down in such a manner as to convey the impression that the author is rather lamenting or castigating the degeneracy of his fellow-countrymen, as we learn from the pen of the Byzantine satirist, Mazaris, contemporaries did not hesitate to do, than repeating the unsympathetic utterances of a member of the dominant race, and the language and the metre are repolished throughout. Both the grammar and the orthography are of a somewhat higher standard, but the corrections are chiefly made in the interests of prosody. It reads, in fact, like a correction of an indifferent scholar's task. The inevitable conclusion, and one which moreover corresponds to internal chronological evidence, is that the Copenhagen MS. contains, if not the original version, a text which differs from the original only by a few later interpolations, while the Paris MS. presents a text remodelled for Greek readers, at least half a century later.

To return to the question of the priority of a French or of

a Greek original, granted that the French prose and Greek verse renderings are practically identical, it would seem on general grounds more natural to assume that the prose was a translation from the verse, than that prose had under translation been converted into a metrical form. If at first sight it appears strange that a work glorifying the Frankish conquests should have been originally composed in Greek, it must be remembered that Greek early became the language of the Franks in Romania. The conquistadors were not all of French origin, but included Flemings, Germans, Lombards, and Venetians. They were numerically few, and their intercourse was entirely with Greek-speaking populations, among whom the humbler sort found wives. Later on, with the constant import of new blood and mercenary troopers, this condition became modified, but already in 1259, before the battle of Pelagonia, Geoffroy de Bruyères is made to describe the composite army of Franks and Epirotes as all speaking one language, in contradistinction to the polyglot army of mercenaries from Constantinople. It is in any case less conceivable that, had such a book been originally composed in French, a Greek would have been found to adapt it and amplify it in a spirit of uncompromising hostility to his countrymen, nor would it have been the interest of the Franks, whose interest it was to conciliate the subject populations, to have had the more temperate French version rewritten as a Greek poem, and supplemented by additional passages emphasising racial animosity. If it be not admitted that Greek was the general language of the Franks of the second and third generation, there seems little reason for the existence of such a Greek chronicle in the beginning of the fourteenth century. If Greek was the general language, it would be in Greek that such a popular history would be composed.

In the Greek texts there is no reference to any other work or authority, with the exception of the solitary mention in the Prologue of the book of the conquest of Syria, and an allusion to a register of fiefs. The Greek-speaking chronicler tells his own tale throughout, based on accounts received from the old men who came with the original conquerors, or followed in the next generation. The French prose version,

on the other hand, is admittedly not an original document. "Si vous diray mon compte"—the writer would give his own version of the story—"non pas ainxi come je trouvay pas escript, mais au plus bref que je pourrai." There is constant reference to another *conte* from which his tale is derived; "or dit le conte que," &c.; or again, "ore se tais li contes de parler dou Prince Guillerme," &c. Moreover the French author continues to cite the *conte* for events subsequent to the date at which the Greek chroniclers break off in 1292, whence again it may be inferred that there existed an original version carrying on the history as far as the French adapter has done.

The Greek poem contains far more historical matter and topographical information than the French version. The long speeches of the various principals, common in Greek folk-poetry, are in the French for the most part compressed into few words, or altogether omitted and replaced by a general phrase, such as, "Sur ce fu moult debatu." With regard to the many passages in which the Greek text supplies episodes inadequately given or omitted in the French text, it will be sufficient for the present purpose to refer to the facts of capital importance which Ellissen has indicated as only to be found in the Romaic. On the other hand, it must be acknowledged that the French author very occasionally adds some supplementary details, apparently derived from other sources, such as his account of the blinding of Dandolo.

A weighty argument in favour of the priority of the Greek poem is derived by Dr. Schmitt from a comparison of certain passages in which the French writer's account of some incident is confused and self-contradictory, while the corresponding passage in the Greek text is perfectly clear, thus warranting the presumption that the adapter had imperfectly understood the Greek, or was wanting in care in condensing the substance of a more detailed narration. A number of instances in illustration will be found on pages 58-65 of *Die Chronik von Morea*. One striking instance may be quoted. In the account given of the transfer of the sovereignty of Achaia to Charles of Anjou and his son, and the subsequent reinvestiture of William Villehardouin, which

took place on the occasion of the marriage of Louis of Anjou with Isabella, the French text runs as follows: "Et li rois revesti monseignor Lauys son fils come son droit hoir. Et apris ce si randi messire Lauys la seignorie de la princée qu'il deust tenir à sa vie." The last sentence is not intelligible; there is no clue to indicate to whom *il* refers. No such uncertainty exists in the Greek:

Καὶ ὁ ῥήγας ἐρεβέστισεν ἐνταῦθα τὸν υἱόν του
Ἐκεῖνον τὸν μισὺρ Λωΐς, ἀπὸ τὸ πριγκιπάτον.
Καὶ ἐκεῖνος εὐθέως τὸ ἔστρεψεν πάλαι τοῦ πεθεροῦ τοῦ
Νὰ το κρατῇ, νομεύεται ἕως ὅτον ζῇ εἰς τὸν κόσμον.

Another interesting point is the fact that the author of the Greek chronicle used the name Hellenes apparently in its proper significance, whereas to the French adapter, perhaps only a visitor to the country, it suggested much what it still signifies in the popular folk-lore of the Greek peasantry, namely, a race of giants or Titans who once inhabited the earth. The Romaioi, the Greek author tells us, used to be called Hellenes, and they acquired the name Romaioi from Rome (lines 795-7). Elsewhere he says that the title of Megaskyr in Athens dated from the days of the Hellenes (line 225). The French adapter, on the other hand, renders the line describing the keep of the castle of Arkadia:

Εἶλαν καὶ πύργον δυνατὸν ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν Ἑλλη'νων.
"(le donjon) avoit une bonne tour dessus, de l'ovre des Jaians."

The French writer, ignorant of the real meaning of Hellene, and having learned the popular tradition, might well render it by *Jaian*, but would a Greek translator ever have rendered *Jaian* by Hellene?

In a poem such as the Greek chronicle, it seems natural enough that what is practically a new chapter should open with a poetic reference to the return of spring, such as is common as an exordium in Greek folk-songs, but such an excursion is quite out of place in the bald French prose narrative of a campaign, and the presence of the following passage in the place where it occurs can therefore only be accounted for on the theory of translation from the metrical version: "Quant cellui yver fu passés et li noviau temps entra, que li roussignol chantent vers l'aube de jour douce-

ment, et toutes créatures se renouvelent et s'esjoyssent sur terre, li prince Guillermes, qui plus etoit lointains," &c. (*F. C.*, p. 123). Such a touch of nature is appropriate enough to popular poetry, which retains something of the primitive epic, but is quite out of keeping with the style of the French chronicler.

Another French writer[1] has pointed out that so far from the treatment of proper names in the French chronicle offering a conclusive argument in favour of its priority, as Buchon claimed, cases can be pointed out where it is obvious that the French author must have taken his names from the Greek, and have failed to recognise their French originals. Not to multiply examples, the name *Trémolay* for *Trémoille* is a good case in point, evidently taken from *Τρέμουλα* or *Τρεμουλᾶ*, which the Greek-speaking writer had perhaps evolved in ignorance of the nature of an *e* mute. Another remarkable instance is *Vry* for *Ivry*, which reflects the *Βρῆ* of the Greek MS.

The one apparently plausible argument in favour of the priority of the French text, or rather of the greater antiquity of the French text than of either of the Greek versions which have come down to us, is drawn from the genealogical details given in the various texts with regard to the issue and successors of Geoffroy de Bruyères the younger and Marguérite de Cors of Lisarea.

The French text is as follows:—

"Et puis s'en ala en la Morée et espousa la dame; et fus mis en possession de son fié et de la Liserée. . . .

"Et ot celle dame sa feme une fille qui ot nom Élaine; la quelle ot a baron messire Vilain d'Anoë, le seignor de l'Arcadye. Des quelx yssi Erars d'Anoë et Agnès sa suer, qui fu depuis fame espousée du noble chevalier Monseignor Estienne le Maure, le seignor dou chastel de Saint Sauveur.

"Mais cy se tayst ores li contes a parler de Monseignor Goffroy de Bruières et de ceaux qui de lors yssirent et vous dira de Madame Ysabeau, la fille dou bon Prince Guillerme." . . . (*F. C.*, p. 287).

[1] The marquis Terrier de Loray, in *Un parliament de dames au trézième siècle;* Académie de Besançon, 1880.

The parallel passage in the Copenhagen text of the Greek metrical chronicle may be rendered as follows:—

"And when these two were joined together in marriage
God gave them a child, and this child was a daughter.
Helen was the name they gave her, and later she was wedded
To Messire Vilain d'Aunoy, the lord of Arkadia.
And these two again had a son and a daughter.
The son's name was Érard, Agnes was the daughter,
Which last was honoured as his wedded wife
By Messire Stephen who was called Le Maure.
And they again bore sons and daughters,
But of them all one alone remained who was the heir,
Érard the name was, the lord of Arkadia.
And now I will here cease to speak and to discourse
Of that Messire Geoffrey and of his successors,
And I will discourse and write and tell you
Of Isabella of blessed memory, who was daughter
Of the illustrious Prince William, of blessed memory," &c.

—Line 8459 (7120.)

The Paris text of the Greek metrical version, which ends with this passage—the whole episode of the younger Bruyères being annexed as a kind of appendix—has the first eleven lines quoted above, and then adds four new ones, showing that Érard III. had recently died when this version was prepared. With this passage the manuscript concludes:—

"The orphans grew wealthy, the widows rejoiced,
The destitute and the poor enjoyed plenty
In the days, of which I speak, of the lord of Arkadia.
All of you remember him, he was a good lord."

The Italian translation, which exists in the Library of St. Mark at Venice, gives the passage in terms practically identical with those of the Copenhagen MS., but the reference to Érard III. is in the past tense, as though he were no longer alive, and there is no equivalent for the word *μακάριος* (the late), either as applied to Isabella or to Prince William.

Now, what are the dates approximately assignable to the various personages here enumerated? Marguérite de Cors

was the daughter of Marguérite de Neuilly, heiress of Passava and Akova by the first of her three husbands, who was killed at the battle of Carydi in 1258. Left a widow by the death of her first husband Payen de Sastenay, she married Geoffroy de Bruyères the younger about the year 1388, and brought him the fief of Lisarea. Their daughter Helen married Vilain II. d'Aunoy of Arkadia, and had two children, Érard d'Aunoy, the second of that name, and Agnes. Érard II. died without issue, and his widow seems to have married Pietro dalle Carceri of Negripont, and to have brought him a moiety of the barony of Arkadia. Pietro died in 1340. It may therefore be assumed that Érard II. died some years earlier. Agnes married Etienne Lenoir (Mavro), who was lord of St. Sauveur from 1324 to 1330. They left a son, Érard III., who inherited Arkadia from his mother and St. Sauveur and Aetos from his father, and was created Marshal of Morea by James of Aragon in 1345. He died in 1388.

Comparing these dates with the matter of the three texts, we find that the French chronicle carries the family history down only as far as the marriage of Agnes d'Aunoy to Etienne Lenoir. The passage might seem to imply that the genealogy as set forth existed in the *conte* from which the French writer derived his information. But he may himself have carried it a generation further than the original. We must however conclude that the French version itself was written not very long after the period when Etienne was lord of St. Sauveur, *i.e.* 1324–1330.

The Copenhagen MS. takes the genealogy a step further and speaks of children born of the marriage, one only of whom, Érard III., survived and became the heir. The Paris MS. goes further still, and speaks of Érard III. as already dead when the author was writing.

We must conclude, therefore, that the passage contained in the lines 7128–30 of the Copenhagen MS. (and *a fortiori* the chronologically later passage of the Paris MS.) did not exist in the original *conte*, from which the French writer worked, existing in the castle of St. Omer during the tenure of Bartolommeo Ghisi (1327 to 1331), which moreover, in virtue of the arguments already brought forward, we assume to have been a Greek poem, identical, save for this and at

least one other later interpolation, with the Copenhagen MS. Ellissen has gone too far in assuming the whole of the episode of Geoffroy de Bruyères the younger to be an interpolation, inasmuch as it seems to be proved by the reference in the French chronicle that the story existed in the original *conte*. The Paris version, which refers to the recent death of Érard III., must have been remodelled after 1388, in which year he died.[1]

There is a further indication of chronology at the end of the important passage under discussion in the Copenhagen MS. Isabella Villehardouin is there alluded to as already dead, by the use of the word μακάριαν ("the late," or "of blessed memory"). Now Isabella died in 1311. The passage in which this word occurs does not seem to be an interpolation, because the French version, following the narrative of the *conte*, is here identical, except that there is no equivalent for the word μακάριαν. The Paris MS. also has ἐκείνην τὴν in place of μακάριαν, which could no longer be appropriately used a great length of time after death. The inference is that the Copenhagen text was produced not long after the year 1311, and that the original version from which the French was drawn was of earlier date and written while Isabella was still alive.

A general somewhat vague indication of date is suggested by the passage (line 5738 *sq.*) which relates that a certain number of Turkish mercenaries were baptized and took wives from among the Christians in Achaia in 1265, and that their children were still living when the chronicle was written.

The latest events recorded in narrative sequence in the Greek chronicle belong to the year 1292. The French version—leaving out of consideration the supplementary chronological list of events—goes on until 1304. But both the Greek versions as they stand are incomplete, and we may fairly assume that the original text carried on the history to the same point as the French adapter, who definitely says: "Tant com j'ay trové tant j'ay escript." There are, moreover, references in the Greek text to events which belong to

[1] The Aragonese chronicle, however, which was composed in 1393, but founded probably on the earlier text, speaks of Érard III. as still alive (§ 446.)

a period subsequent to 1292, such as a mention of the disinheritance of Isabella Villehardouin on account of her marriage with Philip of Savoy at the "pardon" in Rome (*G. C.*, 8588–90).

There is in both the French and the Greek chronicles a reference to the dismantling of St. Omer at Thebes by the Catalans, for fear that it might fall into the hands of the Duke of Athens (Gautier II. de Brienne), and serve as a base of operations for the reconquest of the duchy. This could only have been written after 1330, when Gautier first contemplated the vindication of his claims, and such a passage cannot therefore have existed in the original *conte*, which lay in the castle of St. Omer. The French author adapted his texts from "un livre qui fu jadis del noble baron Messire Bartholomée Guys, le grant conestable, lequel livre il avait en son chastel d'Estives." Bartolommeo Ghisi was constable of Achaia and one of the Triarchs of Eubœa from 1311 to 1341. At one time he entered into intimate relations with the Catalan leader Alfonso Fadrique, whose daughter Simona was then married to his son Giorgio, about the year 1327, when he was invested with the castle. If the Catalans dismantled St. Omer in 1331, when the invasion of Gautier was menacing their establishment, this allows a period of four years during which Ghisi could have had the book in his castle. It is obvious that the destruction of the fortress could not have been mentioned in the original book which was preserved there. The passage must therefore have been added as a comment by the French author, and interpolated about the same time in a new transcription of the Greek text. Dr. Schmitt indeed sees some direct evidence of its being such a later addition in the line in the latter introduced by the words *μετὰ ταῦτα*.

One other indication of date, though of a somewhat vague character, derived from a reference in the Greek chronicle to the Catalan Company, has already been mentioned. It is said in regard to the duchy of Athens, *καὶ εἶναι αὐθέντας σήμερον εἰς αὔτο ἡ Κουμπανία*. The Catalan Company, that is to say, were still ruling over Athens when this version of the poem was written. This might seem to indicate a date anterior to 1326, when Roger Deslaur died.

But the leaders of the company continued in practice to rule over the duchy after the first establishment of the Sicilian-Aragonese ducal dynasty, and signed documents as a governing body up to 1344. Any date, therefore, between 1311 and 1344 would suit the context.

As Buchon and Ellissen have pointed out, it is possible to fix with some precision the date of the French text. The author speaks of "the excellent lady who *is now* called the Empress, and who *was* wife of the very excellent nobleman Messire Philip of Tarentum" (Qui ores s'appelle empéreys et fu feme, &c.) The titular Empress Catherine de Valois was therefore alive but was a widow at the time he was writing. Philip died in December 1331, Catherine herself in 1346. The last date in the chronological table of events prefixed to the chronicle is precisely 1332.

From the evidence of these dates and the general indications furnished by the texts certain conclusions may be derived. There existed in the castle of St. Omer at Thebes, after the year 1327, a history of the conquest of Romania and Morea, which we assume to have been a Greek metrical chronicle carrying on the record of events up to the year 1304, and written about that time. From this the French chronicle was adapted somewhere about the year 1332, at any rate before 1346. This Greek chronicle with certain additions made (*a*) after the year 1311, when Isabella Villehardouin died, (*b*) after the birth of several children to Etienne Lenoir, between 1324–1330, (*c*) after the dismantling of St. Omer by the Catalans in 1331, constitutes the text of the Copenhagen MS. which, as we have it, is practically synchronous with the French chronicle. But the concluding portion, recording events up to 1304, is missing. The original Greek chronicle, intended mainly for oral recitation, was apparently from time to time brought up to date and supplemented by new lines, each copyist adding something to make his version more actual and vivid. It was finally corrected and remodelled soon after the death of Érard Lenoir III., which took place in 1388.

With regard to the personality of the author it has already been pointed out that he was exclusively Frankish and Catholic in sentiment. Dr. Schmitt has further drawn

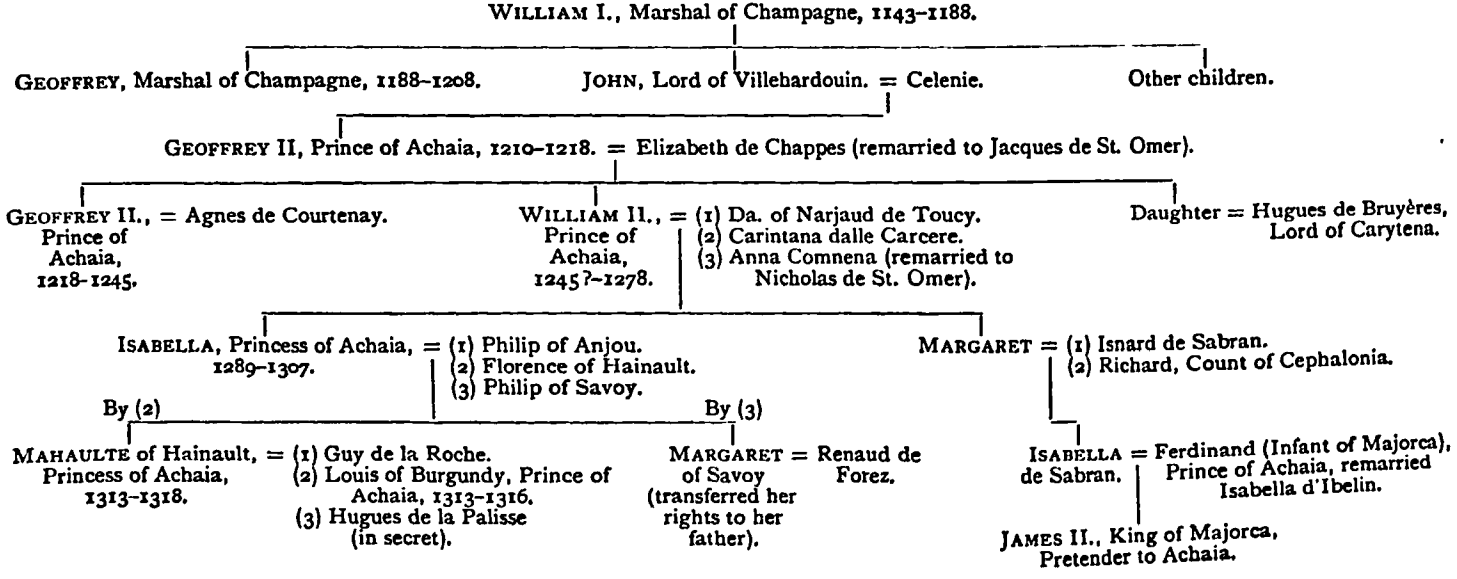
attention to certain characteristics suggested by the matter and manner of his narrative. He was not, for instance, a person of high position or one who played a leading part, which would have placed him in possession of more trustworthy information, and he is conspicuously deferential in referring to those in authority. He is profoundly interested in feudal law and technicalities, and devotes much space to legal discussions in contrast with the perfunctory way in which he disposes of military operations. The fact that the original chronicle was preserved in the castle of St. Omer at Thebes, and that the author shows such intimate acquaintance with the personal details of the life of Nicholas III. de St. Omer, and is able to indicate so fully the itinerary of his march into Thessaly on the campaign in which he supported Guiot, duke of Athens, seems to warrant the assumption that he was a clerk or notary in the retinue of that brilliant young noble, who was one of the last survivors of the old stock of the first conquerors, and that the chronicle, throughout partial to the family of the Theban barons, was drawn up for his patron, and remained deposited in his ancestral seat after he had forfeited it, until the days when Bartolommeo Ghisi entered into temporary possession.

Much of what has been here put forward must of course remain conjectural, and if the arguments advanced may not seem sufficiently convincing to determine any dates with precision, the genesis of the chronicle may at any rate be assigned without question to the early years of the fourteenth century, to a period that is very near the events recorded, many of which were still a living memory, while its value as a picture of contemporary thought and manners, during this obscure epoch of history, can hardly be overrated.

APPENDIX III

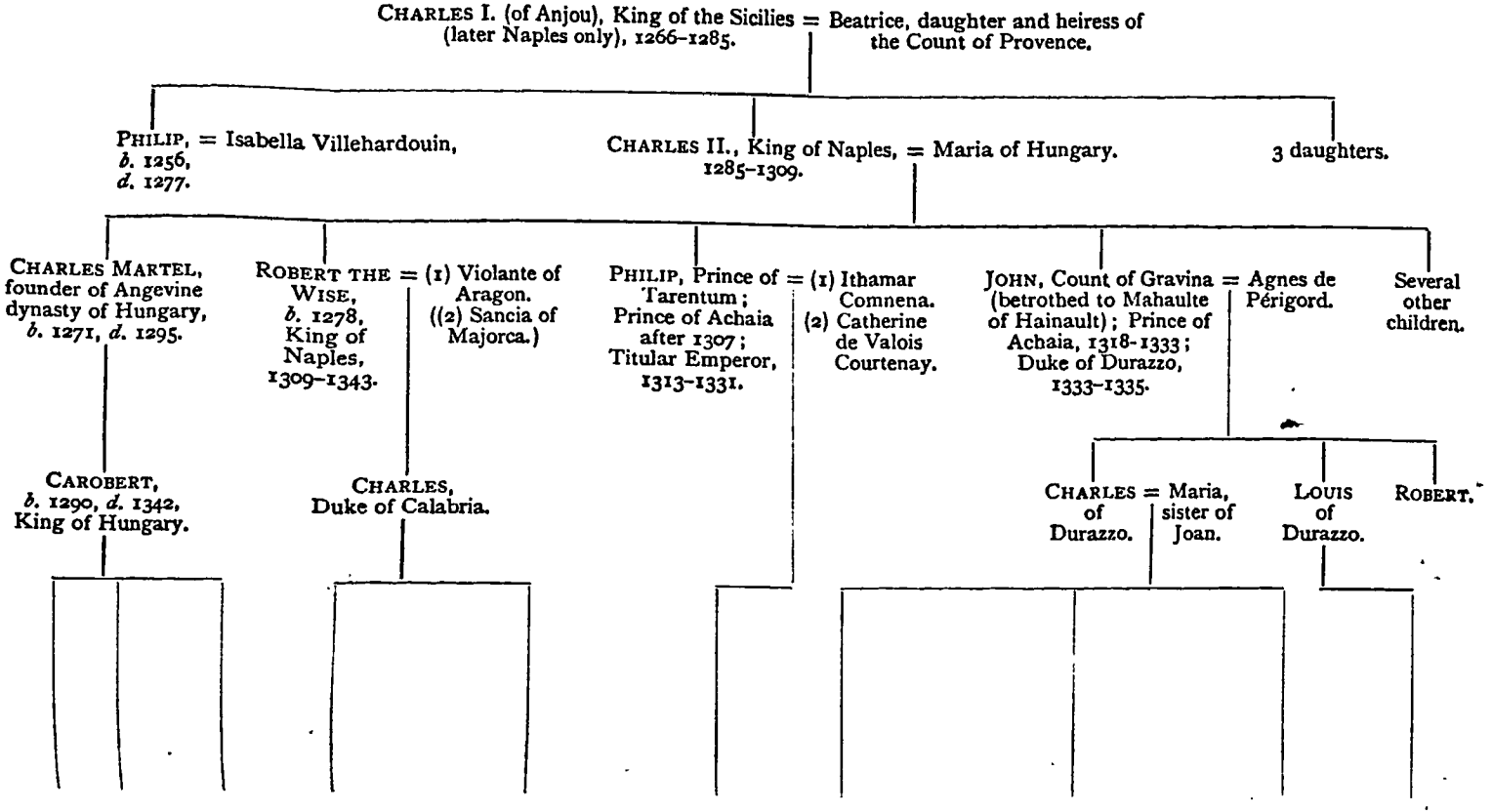
GENEALOGICAL TABLES

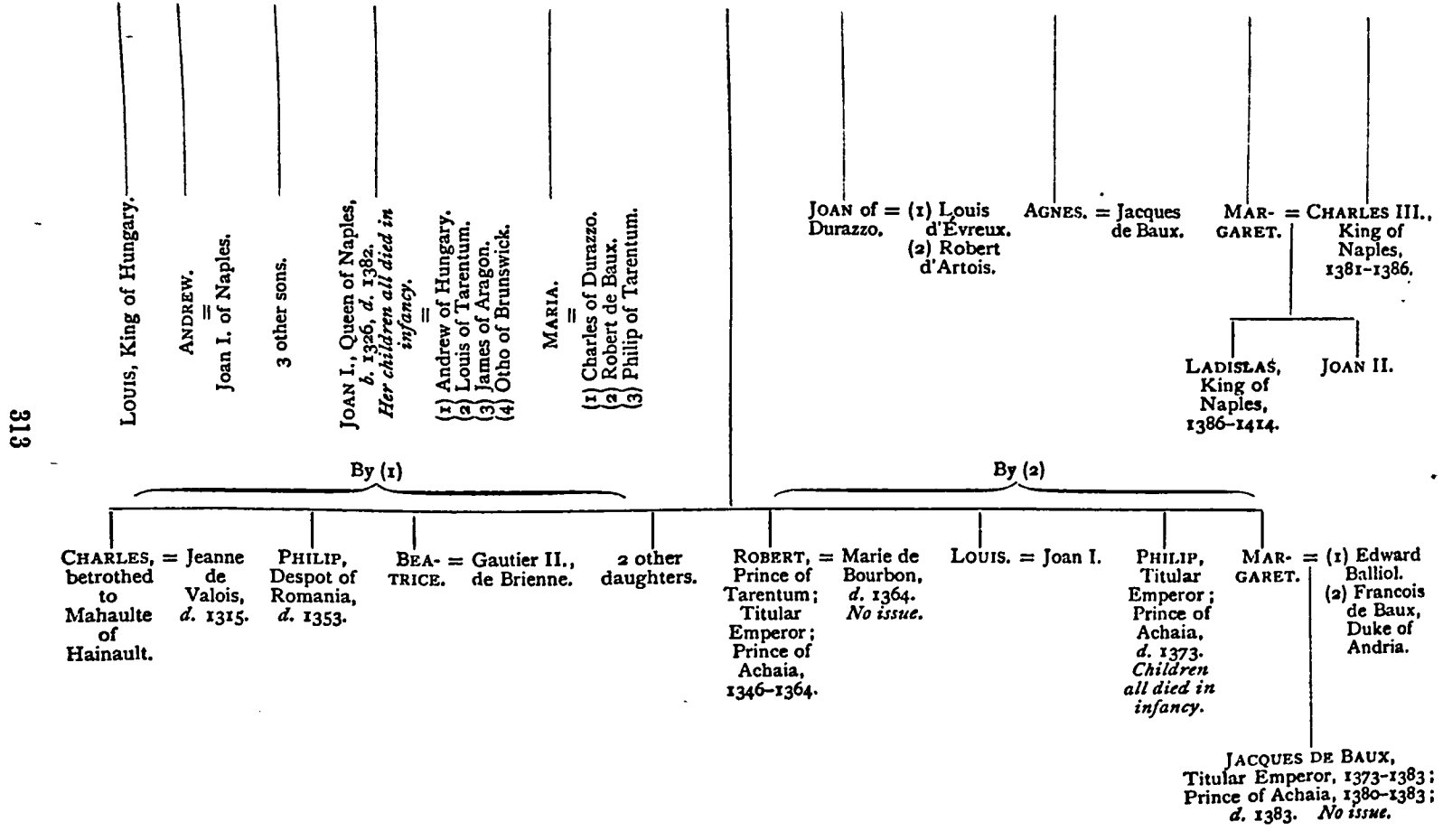
I. HOUSE OF VILLEHARDOUIN


WILLIAM I., Marshal of Champagne, 1143–1188.
GEOFFREY, Marshal of Champagne, 1188–1208.
JOHN, Lord of Villehardouin. = Celenie.
Other children.
GEOFFREY II, Prince of Achaia, 1210–1218. = Elizabeth de Chappes (remarried to Jacques de St. Omer).
GEOFFREY II., Prince of Achaia, 1218–1245. = Agnes de Courtenay.
WILLIAM II., Prince of Achaia, 1245?–1278. = (1) Da. of Narjaud de Toucy. (2) Carintana dalle Carcere. (3) Anna Comnena (remarried to Nicholas de St. Omer).
Daughter = Hugues de Bruyères, Lord of Carytena.
ISABELLA, Princess of Achaia, 1289–1307. = (1) Philip of Anjou. (2) Florence of Hainault. (3) Philip of Savoy.
MARGARET = (1) Isnard de Sabran. (2) Richard, Count of Cephalonia.
By (2)
By (3)
MAHAULTE of Hainault, Princess of Achaia, 1313–1318. = (1) Guy de la Roche. (2) Louis of Burgundy, Prince of Achaia, 1313–1316. (3) Hugues de la Palisse (in secret).
MARGARET of Savoy (transferred her rights to her father). = Renaud de Forez.
ISABELLA de Sabran. = Ferdinand (Infant of Majorca), Prince of Achaia, remarried Isabella d'Ibelin.
JAMES II., King of Majorca, Pretender to Achaia.

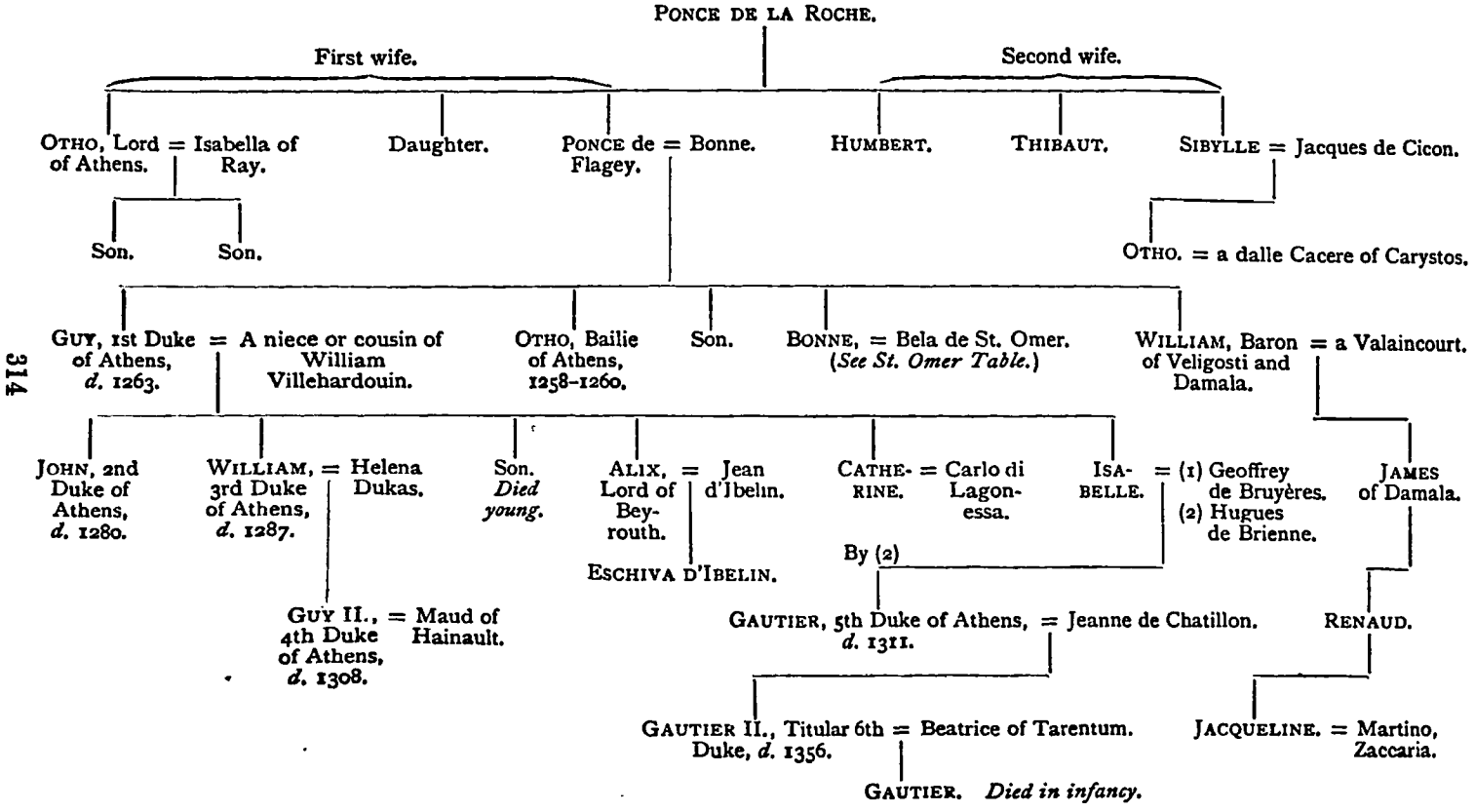
II. THE NEAPOLITAN HOUSE OF ANJOU

TITULAR EMPERORS OF CONSTANTINOPLE AND PRINCES OF ACHAIA


CHARLES I. (of Anjou), King of the Sicilies (later Naples only), 1266–1285.
= Beatrice, daughter and heiress of the Count of Provence.
PHILIP, b. 1256, d. 1277.
= Isabella Villehardouin,
CHARLES II., King of Naples, 1285–1309.
= Maria of Hungary.
3 daughters.
CHARLES MARTEL, founder of Angevine dynasty of Hungary, b. 1271, d. 1295.
ROBERT THE WISE, b. 1278, King of Naples, 1309–1343.
= (1) Violante of Aragon. (2) Sancia of Majorca.)
PHILIP, Prince of Tarentum; Prince of Achaia after 1307; Titular Emperor, 1313–1331.
= (1) Ithamar Comnena. (2) Catherine de Valois Courtenay.
JOHN, Count of Gravina (betrothed to Mahaulte of Hainault); Prince of Achaia, 1318–1333; Duke of Durazzo, 1333–1335.
= Agnes de Périgord.
Several other children.
CAROBERT, b. 1290, d. 1342, King of Hungary.
CHARLES, Duke of Calabria.
CHARLES of Durazzo.
= Maria, sister of Joan.
LOUIS of Durazzo.
ROBERT.


Louis, King of Hungary.
Andrew. = Joan I. of Naples.
3 other sons.
Joan I., Queen of Naples, b. 1326, d. 1382. Her children all died in infancy. = (1) Andrew of Hungary. (2) Louis of Tarentum. (3) James of Aragon. (4) Otho of Brunswick.
Maria. = (1) Charles of Durazzo. (2) Robert de Baux. (3) Philip of Tarentum.
Joan of Durazzo. = (1) Louis d'Évreux. (2) Robert d'Artois.
Agnes. = Jacques de Baux.
Margaret. = Charles III., King of Naples, 1381–1386.
Ladislas, King of Naples, 1386–1414.
Joan II.
By (1)
By (2)
Charles, betrothed to Mahaulte of Hainault.
= Jeanne de Valois, d. 1315.
Philip, Despot of Romania, d. 1353.
Beatrice. = Gautier II., de Brienne.
2 other daughters.
Robert, Prince of Tarentum; Titular Emperor; Prince of Achaia, 1346–1364.
= Marie de Bourbon, d. 1364. No issue.
Louis. = Joan I.
Philip, Titular Emperor; Prince of Achaia, d. 1373. Children all died in infancy.
Margaret. = (1) Edward Balliol. (2) Francois de Baux, Duke of Andria.
Jacques de Baux, Titular Emperor, 1373–1383; Prince of Achaia, 1380–1383; d. 1383. No issue.

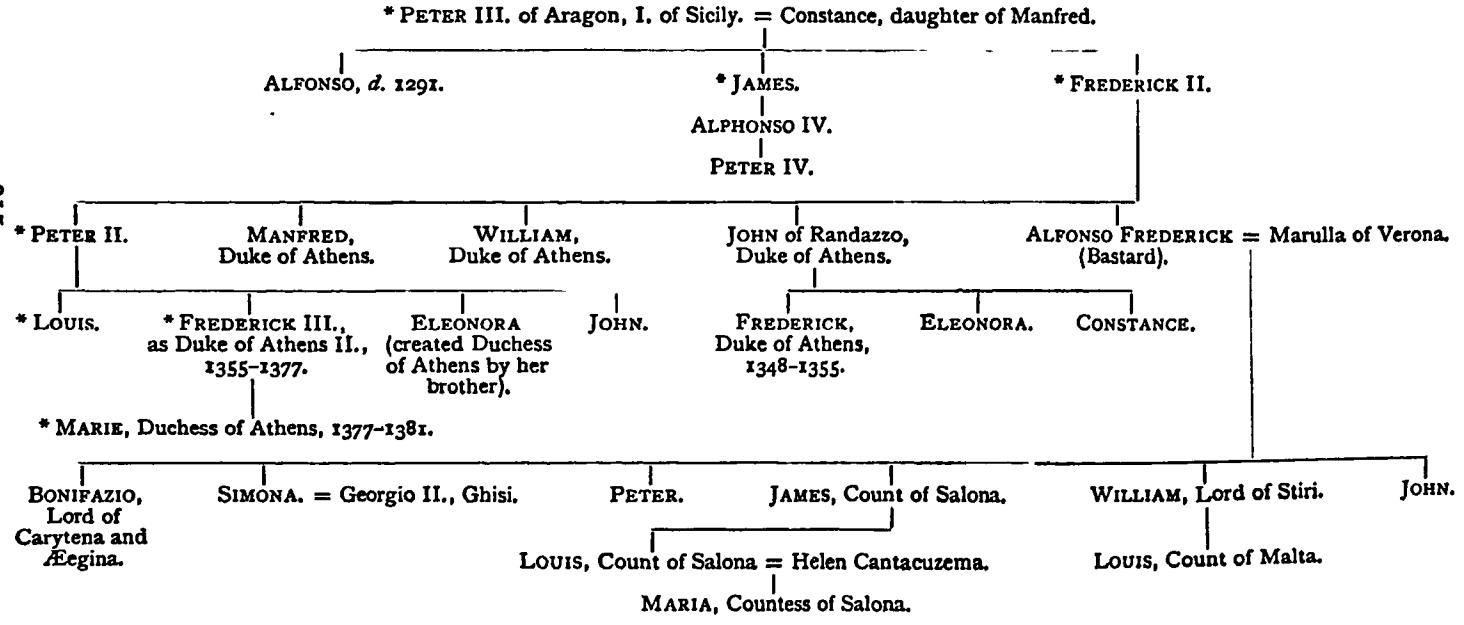
III. THE DE LA ROCHES OF ATHENS


PONCE DE LA ROCHE.
First wife.
Second wife.
OTHO, Lord of Athens. = Isabella of Ray.
Daughter.
PONCE de Flagey. = Bonne.
HUMBERT.
THIBAUT.
SIBYLLE = Jacques de Cicon.
Son.
Son.
OTHO. = a dalle Cacere of Carystos.
GUY, 1st Duke of Athens, d. 1263. = A niece or cousin of William Villehardouin.
OTHO, Bailie of Athens, 1258–1260.
Son.
BONNE, = Bela de St. Omer. (See St. Omer Table.)
WILLIAM, Baron of Veligosti and Damala. = a Valaincourt.
JOHN, 2nd Duke of Athens, d. 1280.
WILLIAM, 3rd Duke of Athens, d. 1287. = Helena Dukas.
Son. Died young.
ALIX, Lord of Beyrouth. = Jean d'Ibelin.
CATHERINE. = Carlo di Lagonessa.
ISABELLE. = (1) Geoffrey de Bruyères. (2) Hugues de Brienne.
JAMES of Damala.
ESCHIVA D'IBELIN.
By (2)
GUY II., 4th Duke of Athens, d. 1308. = Maud of Hainault.
GAUTIER, 5th Duke of Athens, d. 1311. = Jeanne de Chatillon.
RENAUD.
GAUTIER II., Titular 6th Duke, d. 1356. = Beatrice of Tarentum.
JACQUELINE. = Martino, Zaccaria.
GAUTIER. Died in infancy.

IV. HOUSE OF ARAGON—SICILY

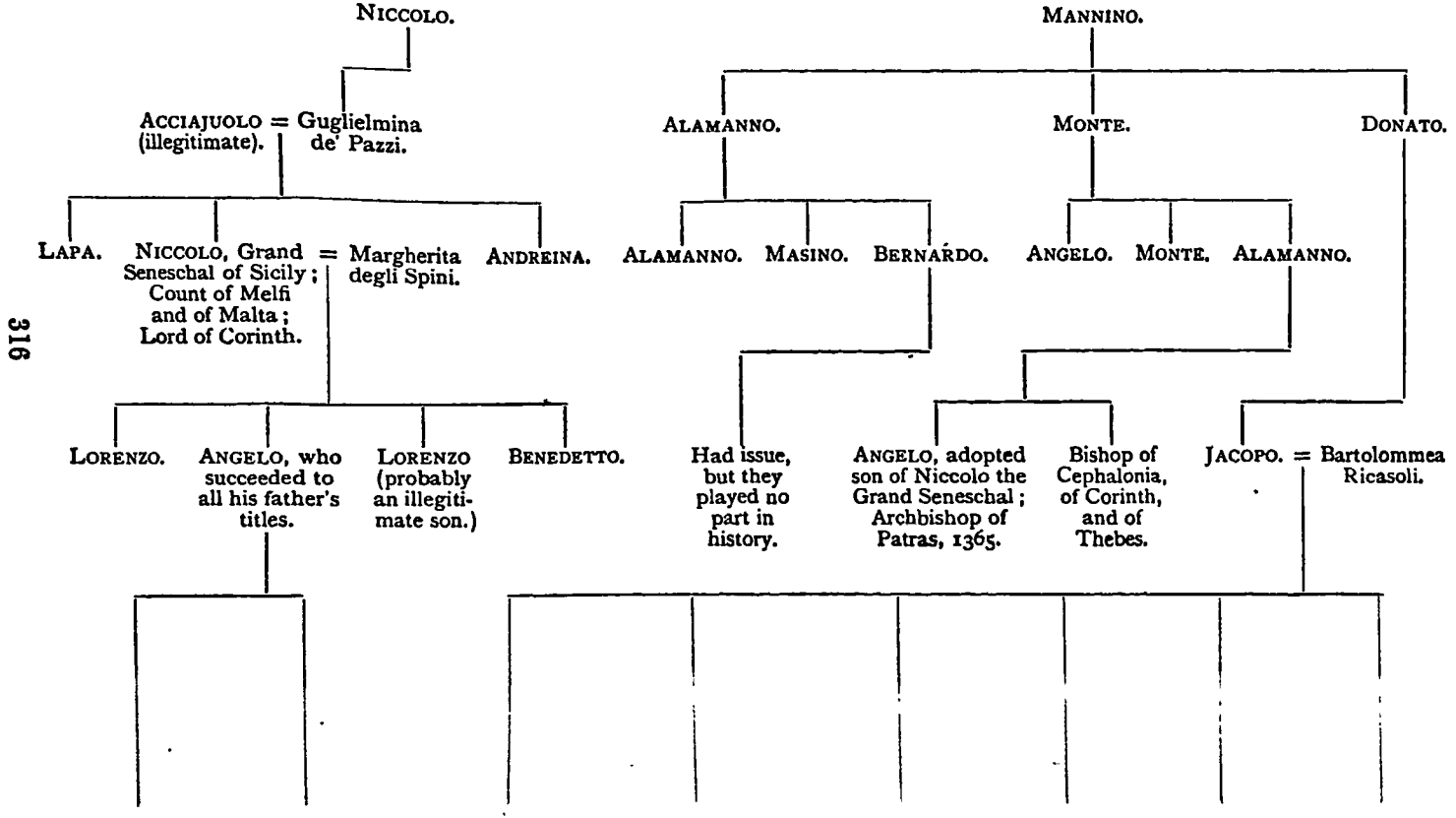
KINGS OF SICILY AND DUKES OF ATHENS

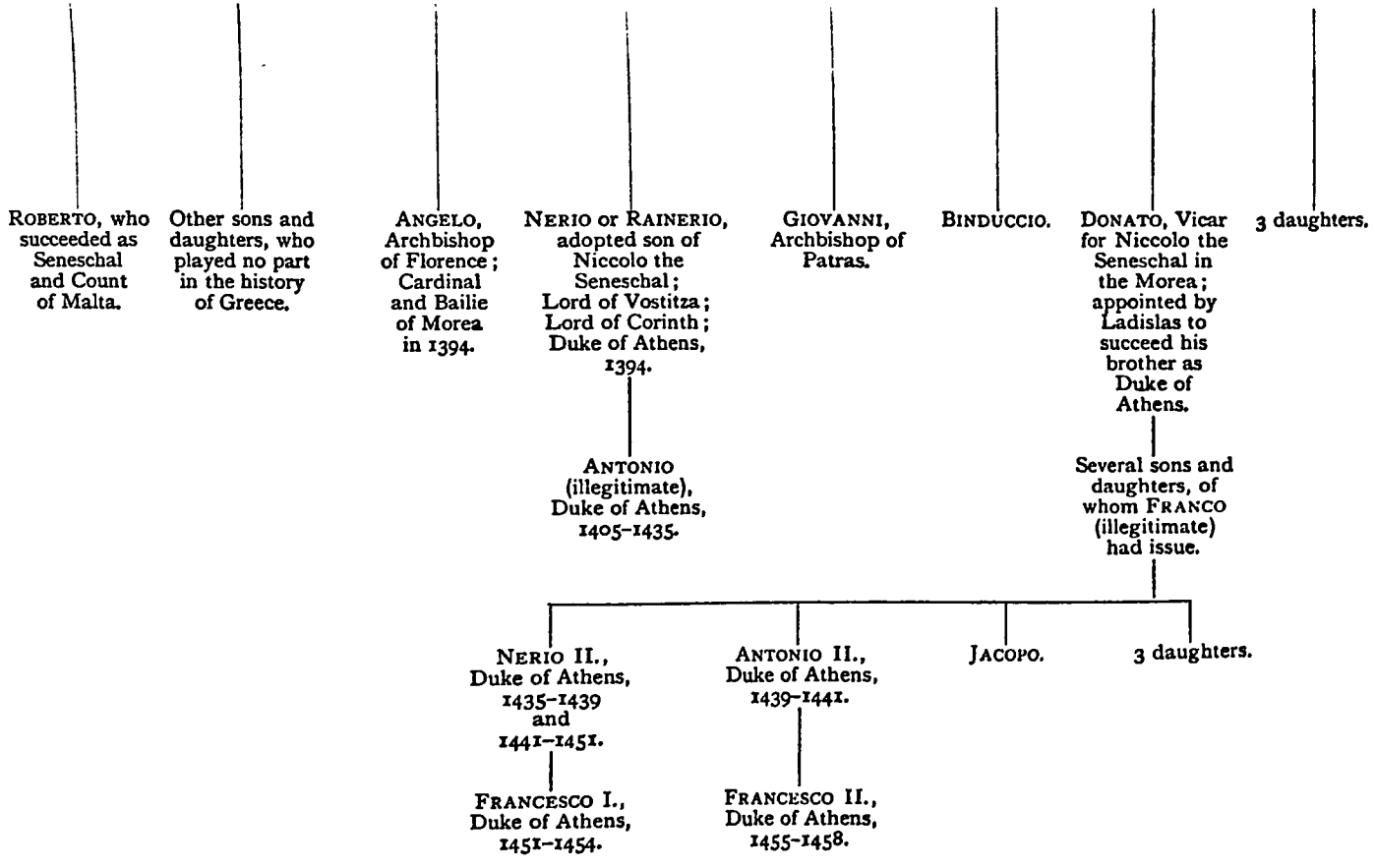
(Those who reigned in Sicily are marked with an asterisk.)


* PETER III. of Aragon, I. of Sicily. = Constance, daughter of Manfred.
ALFONSO, d. 1291.
* JAMES.
ALPHONSO IV.
PETER IV.
* FREDERICK II.
* PETER II.
MANFRED, Duke of Athens.
WILLIAM, Duke of Athens.
JOHN of Randazzo, Duke of Athens.
ALFONSO FREDERICK (Bastard). = Marulla of Verona.
* LOUIS.
* FREDERICK III., as Duke of Athens II., 1355–1377.
ELEONORA (created Duchess of Athens by her brother).
JOHN.
FREDERICK, Duke of Athens, 1348–1355.
ELEONORA.
CONSTANCE.
* MARIE, Duchess of Athens, 1377–1381.
BONIFAZIO, Lord of Carytena and Ægina.
SIMONA. = Georgio II., Ghisi.
PETER.
JAMES, Count of Salona.
WILLIAM, Lord of Stiri.
JOHN.
LOUIS, Count of Salona = Helen Cantacuzema.
LOUIS, Count of Malta.
MARIA, Countess of Salona.

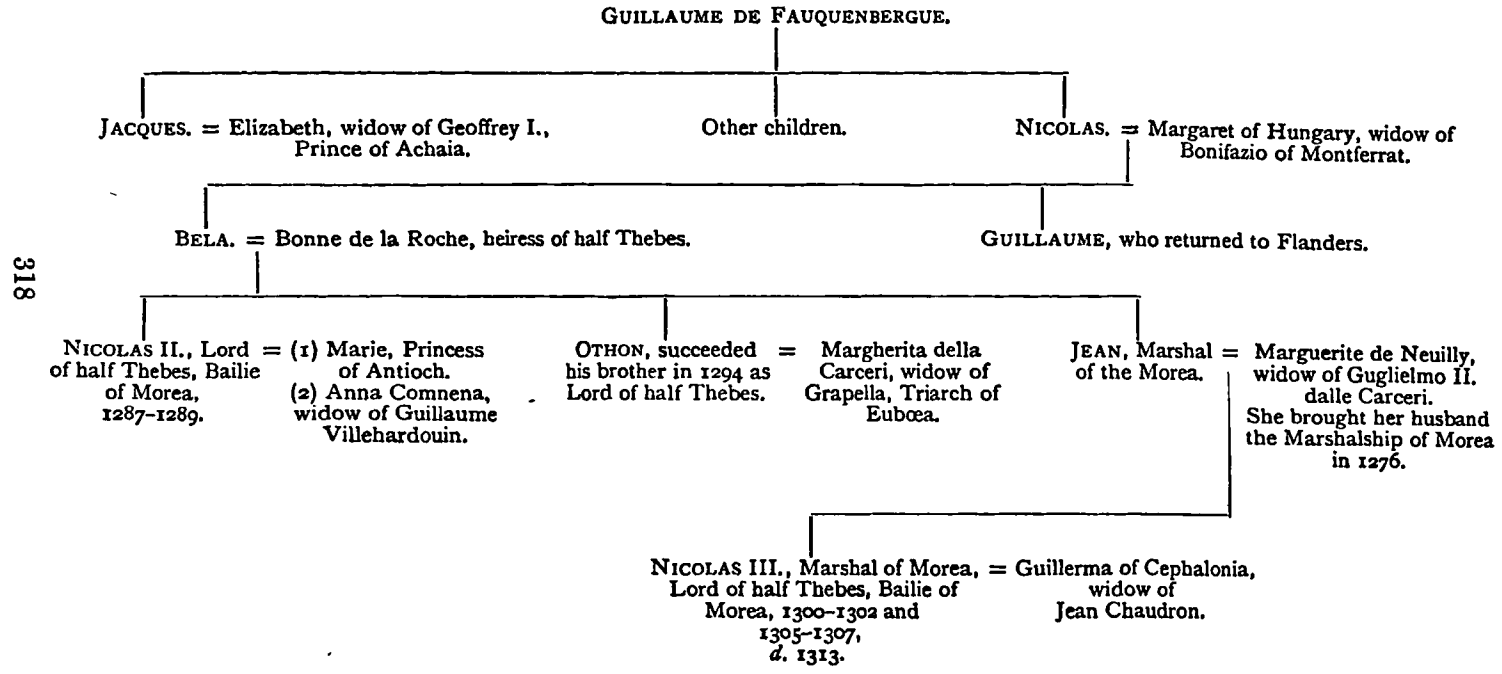
V. THE ACCIAJUOLI OF ROMANIA

DESCENDING FROM THE BROTHERS NICCOLO AND MANNINO




ROBERTO, who succeeded as Seneschal and Count of Malta.
Other sons and daughters, who played no part in the history of Greece.
ANGELO, Archbishop of Florence; Cardinal and Bailie of Morea in 1394.
NERIO or RAINERIO, adopted son of Niccolo the Seneschal; Lord of Vostitza; Lord of Corinth; Duke of Athens, 1394.
GIOVANNI, Archbishop of Patras.
BINDUCCIO.
DONATO, Vicar for Niccolo the Seneschal in the Morea; appointed by Ladislas to succeed his brother as Duke of Athens.
3 daughters.
ANTONIO (illegitimate), Duke of Athens, 1405–1435.
Several sons and daughters, of whom FRANCO (illegitimate) had issue.
NERIO II., Duke of Athens, 1435–1439 and 1441–1451.
ANTONIO II., Duke of Athens, 1439–1441.
JACOPO.
3 daughters.
FRANCESCO I., Duke of Athens, 1451–1454.
FRANCESCO II., Duke of Athens, 1455–1458.

VI. HOUSE OF ST. OMER


GUILLAUME DE FAUQUENBERGUE.
JACQUES. = Elizabeth, widow of Geoffrey I., Prince of Achaia.
Other children.
NICOLAS. = Margaret of Hungary, widow of Bonifazio of Montferrat.
BELA. = Bonne de la Roche, heiress of half Thebes.
GUILLAUME, who returned to Flanders.
NICOLAS II., Lord of half Thebes, Bailie of Morea, 1287–1289. = (1) Marie, Princess of Antioch. (2) Anna Comnena, widow of Guillaume Villehardouin.
OTHON, succeeded his brother in 1294 as Lord of half Thebes. = Margherita della Carceri, widow of Grapella, Triarch of Eubœa.
JEAN, Marshal of the Morea. = Marguerite de Neuilly, widow of Guglielmo II. dalle Carceri. She brought her husband the Marshalship of Morea in 1276.
NICOLAS III., Marshal of Morea, Lord of half Thebes, Bailie of Morea, 1300–1302 and 1305–1307, d. 1313. = Guillerma of Cephalonia, widow of Jean Chaudron.

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